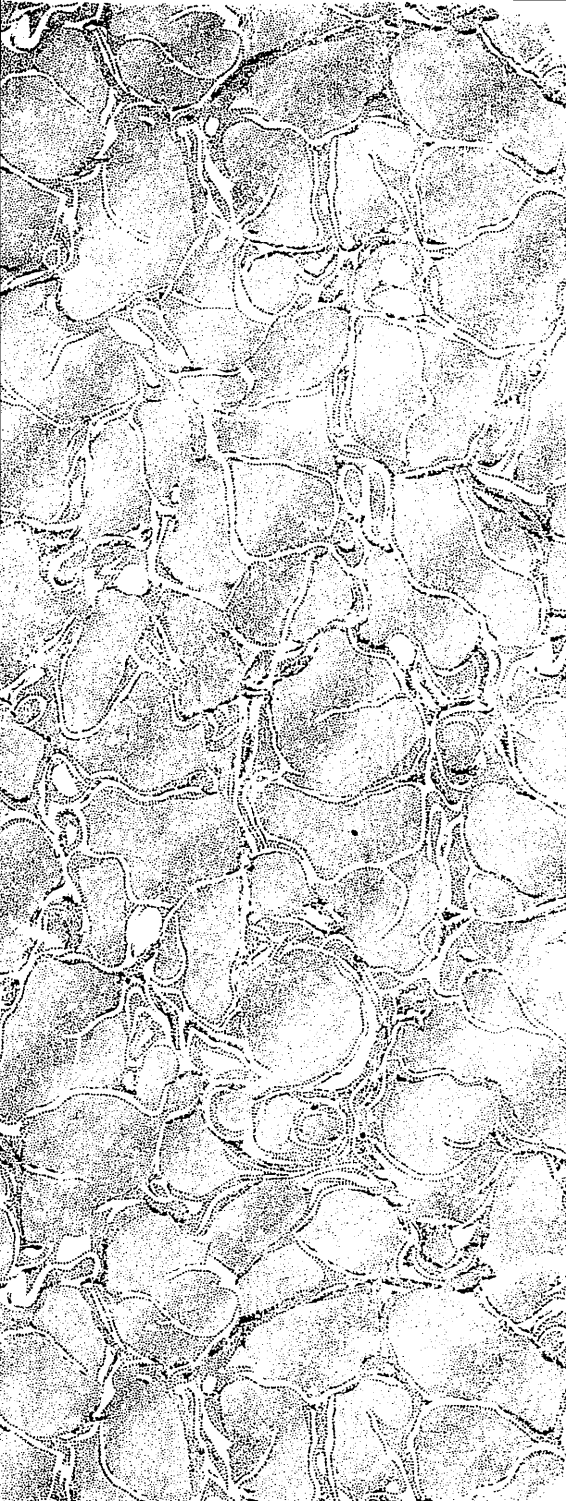
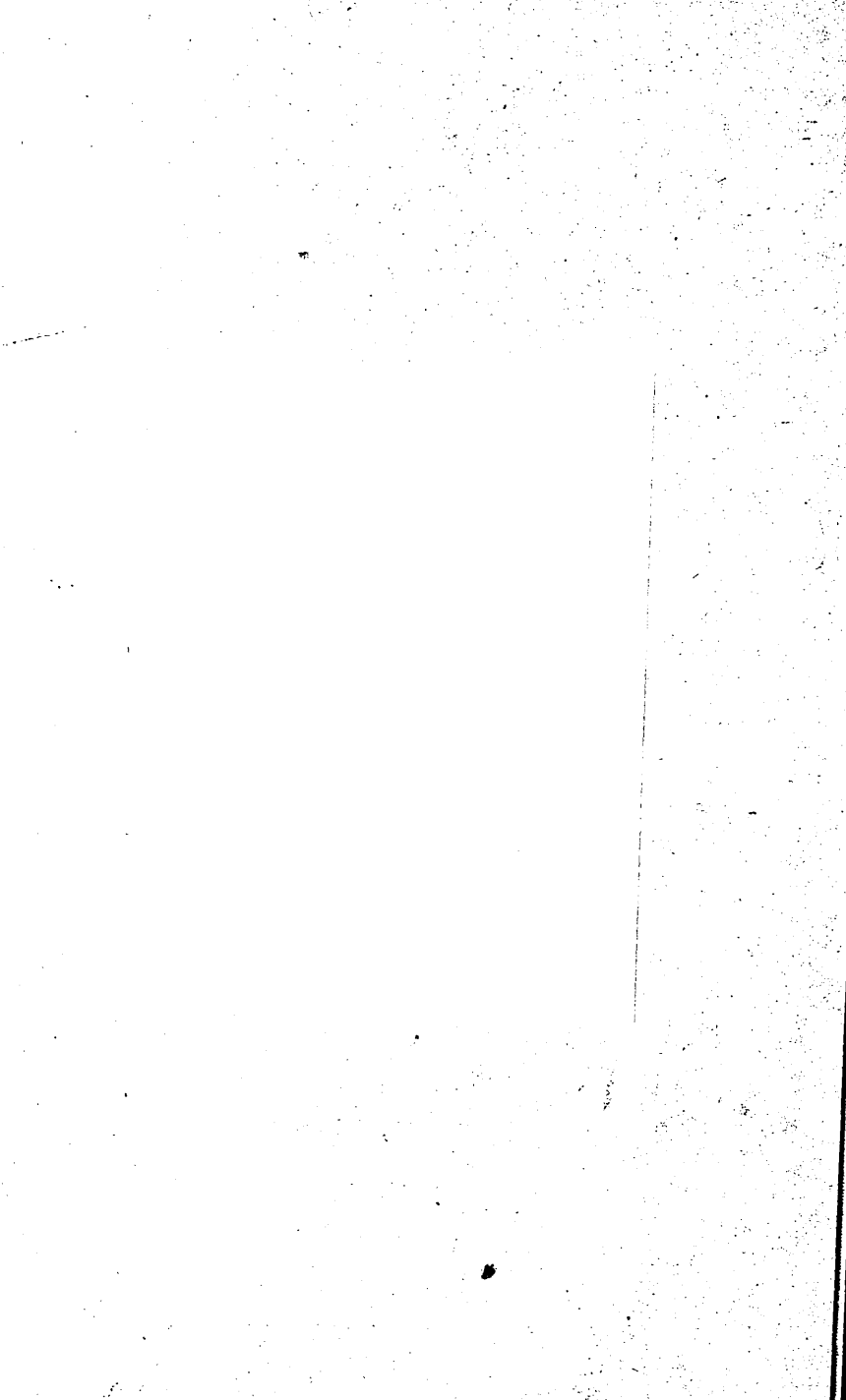


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A COMMENTARY ON THE
VARIOUS READINGS IN THE
TEXT OF THE EPISTLE TO
THE HEBREWS IN THE
CHESTER-BEATTY PAPYRUS

p⁴⁶ - (*circa* 200 A.D.)

By H. C. HOSKIER

(*Supplementing his review of the other epistles*)

*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?
Quisquislibet ex nobis, vigilax, intentusque audax.
Fungar vice cotis; lateat scintillula, forsitan!*

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1938

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(Supplementing his review of the other epistles)

*"All strangest things, the multitudinous years
Bring forth and shadow from us all we know.
Falter alike great oath and steeled resolve;
And none shall say of aught: 'This may not be.'"*

(SOPHOCLES, tr. CALVERLEY)

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ΑΝΑΚΑΥCIC ΚΑΙ ΓΕ ΟCΙΩCIC ΤΩΝ ΟCΤΕΩΝ ΖΗΡΩΝ

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Example of primitive readings.

Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι ἤρατε [*vel* ἐκρύψατε (*Tatian*), *vel* ἔχετε (*Justin*), *vel* εἶχετε (*Marcion*^{vid}), *vel* κλείετε τὴν βασ. (Matt. xxiii 13)] τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσήλθατε (*vel* εἰσήλθετε), καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε. (Luke xi 52.)

Order to Ezekiel to prophesy as to the dry bones.

... καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με· υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου· εἰ ζήσεται τὰ ὀστέα ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα· Κύριε Κύριε, σὺ ἐπίστη ταῦτα. καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με· προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστὰ ταῦτα . . . (Ezek. xxxvii 3, 4.)

'The Word' or 'the Oracle' englobes and is a substitute name for the Holiest place.

... καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ Δαβὶρ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων . . . καὶ ἐποίησε θυσιαστήριον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ Δαβὶρ καὶ περιέσχεν αὐτὸ χρυσίῳ . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ Δαβὶρ δύο χερουβίμ. (1 (3) Kings vi 16, 20, 23.)

The Dayspring from the East.

... καὶ ἰδοὺ δόξα Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἦρχετο κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς . . . καὶ δόξα Κυρίου εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῆς βλεπούσης κατὰ ἀνατολὰς. (Ezek. xliii 2, 4.)

Jerusalem to watch the Eastern horizon for relief.

Περίβλεψον πρὸς ἀνατολὰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἴδε τὴν εὐφροσύνην τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοὶ ἐρχομένην. (Baruch iv 36.)

The Angel of the Covenant, long awaited, is suddenly to appear and an offering is to be revived.

Ἰδοὺ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελον μου . . . καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἤξει εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ Κύριος, ὃν ὑμεῖς ζητεῖτε, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης, ὃν ὑμεῖς θέλετε . . . καὶ ἀρέσει τῷ Κυρίῳ θυσία (ηπנמ, variant ηפנמ) Ἰουδα καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ καθὼς τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἔμπροσθεν. (Mal. iii 1, 4.)

ἄγει δε πρὸς φῶς τὴν ἀληθειαν χρόνος

(Menander.)

HEBREWS

WITH the appearance upon the scene—most unexpectedly—of an extremely early copy of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the whole question as to its authorship, its authority, its place in the Canon, and of its basic or primary text, comes afresh into the limelight for serious study, and for our renewed appreciation and evaluation.

I shall try to contribute my quota to the inevitable discussion of certain readings in the new document, which has lain so long *perdu* in the sands of Egypt,—although the question of our happy estate depends upon our own interpretation of a few uncomplicated rules.

The pure Gospel is a basis for faithful acceptance of the Master's reduction of the whole of the Law and the Prophets to a simple scheme of life, which can be paraphrased thus :

- (a) Honour the Father with the whole of your passionate being ;
- (b) Learn to love your neighbour as yourself, with comprehension and comprehensiveness—(for he *is* yourself, under a very faint disguise)—

and it was, indeed, so understood and practised by the earliest ones calling themselves 'Christians'.

The *Didache* says : συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι,

and again : . . . οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου,

and *Barnabas* equally : κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου· καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι,

as also : ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

The Gospel-tree—its radicles well 'rooted and grounded in love'—proceeded to distribute, on the wings of the wind—('Ruah')—, as a cooling bandage for men's heated brows, the third portentous affirmation of the Master, making number three of the simple fundamentals, measuring-rods, or *regulae* of the Christian life. This was :

- (c) Learn to mete out, here and now, to all enemies and to all trespassers against you, the essential clemency which you hope in

return to obtain for yourselves hereafter,† and not all the kings and potentates of the earth could smother, uproot, or kill this gracious tree, shedding its leaves and its fruit 'for the healing of the Nations'. But they managed to cause the destruction or ensealment of most of the precious documents involved, so that next to nothing remains in evidence of the earliest drafts of the Gospels and Epistles between 50 and 200 A.D.

Of late years we have been privileged to reap quite a harvest of important documents indited subsequent to that date: the Codex Sinaiticus in the middle of the last century, the Didache about 1880 (though egregiously neglected again and plunged back into obscurity), the great Freer Codex of the Gospels, known as W, the Old Syriac of the Gospels, and, more lately, numerous early papyrus fragments, culminating in the wonderful Chester-Beatty series of papyri, which contain large portions of the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, dating circa 200 to 250 A.D., known as **p⁴⁵**, **p⁴⁶**, and **p⁴⁷**. Amongst them is *the Epistle to the Hebrews*, almost complete.

But this epistle to the Hebrews, by whomsoever written, goes a long step farther than the aforesaid triple *Regulae* of the first Christians, and presses upon us the importance of the priestly ritual, or its counterpart and its quintessence.

It seems to have been the work of a Jewish-Christian of legal attainments (or of a group of such men), and it is this doctrine which has been taken as the foundation for organized, consolidated Christianity. It is important, therefore, to know in how far the text has come down to us unimpaired, or unimproved from the original draft, and whether the Original was as strongly worded as our commonly received texts.

The place which it should occupy in the Canon has never been decided, but varies considerably. In the Chester-Beatty papyrus (**p⁴⁶**) it is accorded a more prominent place than in other documents, and occupies a position after Romans and before Corinthians. [F⁸⁷G omit altogether].

It is not for us to discuss where it should be placed nor the question

† 'But I say unto you: Love your enemies *etc.* . . . that ye may become sons of your Father who is in the heavens . . .' Matt. v 44/48.

'Forgive us our debts, *as we* forgive our debtors', Matt. vi 12, and *vv.* 14/15: 'For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but, if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses.' (Cp. also Mark xi 26).

But in St Luke xi 4 we have the formula: 'And forgive us our sins; *for we also forgive* every one that is indebted to us.' There is a variant here of ἀφίμεν, but Clem and Orig witness to ἀφίμεν, and the original formula had become a practice long before, as testified to by the *Didache*, which also has ἀφίμεν very distinctly (fo. 78 b, line 7). See also St James (ii 8) on 'the royal law'.

of authorship.† Let us see, however, if our papyrus exemplar will throw any light, from internal evidence, upon the distance which separates this edition, of the year (*circa*) 200 A.D., from the original copy. We shall be surprised to find that there cannot have been many intervening hands between this and a primal, but rough, first draft.

Practically the whole of the thirteen chapters have been preserved to us, which is a matter for astonishment, as nearly all the other papyri in this find are mutilated, more or less.

The inscription is: *προς εβραίους*.

I will now list a selection of the most important points which seem to bear upon the discussion of origins and of authoritative or primary sources. The sheer errors have dwindled almost to nothing.

At **v 5, 6** we read:

CEN ΓΕΝΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ' ΑΛΛΑ Ο ΛΑΛΗΣΑΣ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ὙΪΣ ΜΟΥ ΕΙ ΣΥ ΕΓΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΓΕ-
 ΝΗΚΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΣΥ ΕΙ
 ΕΠΕΥΞ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΩΝΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ
 ΜΕΛΥΧΙΣΕΔΕΚ'

The last quotation is from Ps. cx (= cix) 4, but there is no clue there (Sept. *ιερεvs*, Heb. *khn*).

All that can be said is that Ps. cix 4 uses the ordinary word *κην* (Cohen), as usual throughout the Hebrew O.T., whereas the *ιερεύς* of the LXX in Ps. cix 4 reappears in the Syriac *New Testament* at Hebr. v 6 as ܝܫܪܝܐ, but in the Hebrew O.T. this word occurs only thrice, at 2 Kings xxiii 5, Hos. x 5, and Zeph. i 4, always of inferior or idolatrous priests, and in this last passage in Zephaniah the two words are *coupled* thus: 'The Chemarim with the Cohens'.

Therefore, **p⁴⁵** originally thought of avoiding *ιερεύς*, because it must be carefully noted that this is *the first place in Hebrews* where *ιερεύς* occurs, out of more than a dozen passages in the Epistle. The writer wished to emphasize the true standing of a Cohen, i.e.: 'Minister in Sacris aut Politicis. In Sacris: Minister Dei, Sacerdos; in Politicis: Minister Regis, Dux, Princeps, Consiliarius, . . . Vir magnus', when, already, perhaps, the other less desirable word was in vogue, and actually appeared in the Syriac version later on, notwithstanding the Author's foresight.

At Acts xiv 13—(not available in **p⁴⁵**, owing to a break in the papyrus)—we read of the '*ιερεvs* (*ιερείς* D) of Jove', and in our comparatively late Syriac version of Acts again we find there this word ܝܫܪܝܐ used, as again in Hebr. v 6, making no differentiation

† See, however, beyond, under ix 22 and xii 28.

between priests of Jove and priests of Jehovah, or ministers of the Jewish-Christian faith.

The point, therefore, is worth noting, as to the character of the fluxing language obtaining at that period, when the Jewish-Christian author was inditing his Epistle 'to the Hebrews'. For it is to be observed that, in the Old Syriac which we have of the Gospels, the word *Cohen* obtains throughout the dozen passages involved (ܥܡܐ and ܥܡܐ). This also applies to the Jerusalem Syriac, where, occasionally, the final ܥ is suppressed. And in the Syriac later Vulgate 'Cohens' are the rule in the Gospels, extending to and including Acts iv 1 and v 24. At Acts vi 7 the Vulgate omits 'priests', and at xiv 13 (ver. 12 in the Syriac) changes over to ܚܕܐ, concerning the priest of Jove. Between this passage and Hebrews there is nothing to go by, for in the Pauline epistles proper we seem to draw a blank.

It is impossible, therefore, to slur over the επεγξ of P^{46} in this, the opening gambit, as it were, of Hebrews v 6, meant, doubtless, as the ecclesiastical counterpart of an Eparch ("Επαρχος Ezra vi 3). Previously, in Hebr. ii 17, iii 1, iv 15, v 1, 5, αρχιερεus occurs, and in this P^{46} concurs. This επευξ (for ιερεus) must be meant for 'Precentor', leader of prayer and praise, the λειτουργος of viii 2 ["λειτουργος γαρ και της σκηνης της αληθεινης ην επηξεν † κυριος, ουκ ανθρωπος"].‡ In Exod. xxx 20 we have λειτουργειν και αναφερειν, and in Deut. x 8 and 1 Chron. xxiii 13 we read:

λειτουργειν και επευχεσθαι,

where the two expressions are conjoined. We translate Deut. x 8: 'At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, *to minister unto him and to bless* in his name, unto this day.'

1 Chron. xxiii 13: 'And Aaron was separated that he should sanctify the most holy things (αγιασθηναι αγια αγιων), he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the Lord, *to minister unto him and to bless* in his name for ever.'

The only other O.T. reference is at Jer. xx 14, where επευκτη is used for 'blessèd': 'Cursèd be the day wherein I was born; let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessèd.'

The Lexicon gives us επευχή 'a prayer', επευκτός adjectival (as above in Jeremiah), and επευκτέος on the authority of *Clem*^{alex} (say Liddell and

† επηξεν here from πηγνυμι, and not connected with επευχομαι.

‡ Note here that the absence of connecting particle agrees with the passage in Col. iii 23, to which we drew attention in the *J.T.S.* for April 1937, p. 157, where P^{46} B *Sod*^{78 106} and *sah* omit και. See also Hebr. viii 2, xi 23.

Scott), but not *ἐπευξ* (apparently formed on the analogy of an *Eparch* or perhaps of *κήρυξ*, *πέλυξ*, and *πτέρυξ*: a wing, so largely used in connexion with the Cherubim).

I do not find *ἐπευκτέος* in the word-register of the third vol. of *Clem.* (in Stahlin's edition), but in vol. i, p. 203, l. 9 (*Paed.*) occurs *ἐπεύχομενος* in a notable passage: *αὐτὸς γὰρ τῷ ἰδίῳ πάθει ῥυσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκανδάλων καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκανθῶν καὶ τὸν διάβολον καταργήσας εἰκότως ἐπευχόμενος εἶρηκεν: ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον. . .*

Now it is a noteworthy fact, although but little known, and rather a startling thing that St Paul never uses the word *ιερεὺς* in any of his epistles. The word occurs some thirty times in the course of the N.T.† All our Syriacs of the Gospels invariably use the Hebrew word 'Cohen' or 'Cahen' as an equivalent, but when we come to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the only Syriac which we have uses 'Camra' instead throughout, including all passages referring to Melchisedek. This gives food for thought.

Does this *ἐπευξ* here, then, let us in to the 'Coulisses' of the Pauline and Barnabite and Silasite theatre? It cannot be a mistake. *Me judice* it represents a trace of what the French call the 'brouillon'—the original rough draft—of the Epistle, and thus brings us very close to the Author (or to the coterie of joint-authors) while the Epistle was 'in process'. [*P*¹³ unfortunately ceases at v 5, before resuming x 8].

Evidently, in Paul's time and after his death, the priesthood of Salem and elsewhere was in its decline, and, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was composed and drafted, a question arose as to whether to use *ιερεὺς* or not. Paul himself had eschewed it. Subsequently, or contemporaneously, the Syriac version of the epistle seems to have elected to drop the usual word *Cohen*, although a word of wide significance, covering priest or layman, in favour of *Camra*, the latter (although used three times in the Hebrew O.T. to designate the priests of Ra or Baal at 2 Kings xxiii 5, Hosea x 5, Zeph. i 4) being a word signifying black or sadness, and of uncertain application. This, then, is the word used throughout Hebrews, even including iv 15, v 1, 5 as

† Matt. viii 4, xii 4, 5, Mark i 44, ii 26 *bis*, Luke i 5, v 14, vi 4, x 31, xvii 14, John i 19, Acts iv 1, vi 7 (xiv 12 of the priest of Jove), Apoc. i 6, v 10, xx 6.

Plus Hebrews v 6, vii 1, 3, 11, 14, 15, 17, 21, 23, viii 4, ix 6, x 11, 21 including vii 14 of the office itself, and x 11, 21 when it is a question of *summus sacerdos*.

St Paul does not even make use of *ἀρχιερεὺς*. The only conjunction of St Paul and an *ἀρχιερεὺς* seems to be at Acts xxii 5, where he says: 'As also the *ἀρχιερεὺς* doth bear me witness, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον' as to his former persecutions; for he could not forget Ananias' command to smite him on the mouth (Acts xxiii 2) and the rebuke of the bystanders, together with his apology (verse 5): *γέγραπται γὰρ Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς*.

to a Pontifex, and in all other passages, including those referring to Melchisedek. 'Cohen' is, to all intents and purposes, dead and buried.

Therefore at Hebr. v 6 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\zeta$ in \mathfrak{P}^{16} means something. Because in Barnabas's and in Paul's time a discussion must have been going on as to the *name* of priests and cozens, which actually resulted in cancelling $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ from Paul's vocabulary (which prefers $\omicron\iota\kappa\nu\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. Cp. 1 Cor. iv 1 $\omega\varsigma \upsilon\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\iota\kappa\nu\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$), and then led the Syriac interpreters to prefer a word, which, up till then, had been excluded as savouring more of other priests than of the Cohens of Moses and Jahve, including, as it does, the famous syllable 'Ra', which refuses to be downed!

A Jew, then, groping for an alternative modernism for priest, had only $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (variant $\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ in Joshua i 1 of Moses), which occurs eleven times in the Septuagint, and evidently $\xi\pi\epsilon\upsilon\zeta$ means a precentor, leader of prayer and praise and song.

$\text{Ἱερεῖς καὶ λειτουργοί}$ occur in conjunction at Isaiah lxi 6, *i.e.* 'Cohens and Mashreta'.

Ἀφηγούμενος occurs at Ezek. xlv 22, xlv 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, xlviii 21 (*bis*), and in the plural: $\tau\omega\upsilon\iota\alpha\iota \alpha\phi\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota$ at xlviii 22 (*bis*). It is translated in the A.V. 'The Prince'. Hence our expression 'A prince of the Church'. It does not occur in the N.T. and $\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota$ only once, in a special position (Acts xiv 12); and $\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota$ in Acts xv 22 of Judas-Barsabas and Silas: $\alpha\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma \eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$, with Hebr. xiii 7: $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\omega\iota\alpha\iota \eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota \upsilon\mu\omega\iota\alpha\iota, \omicron\iota\tau\iota\upsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota \epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\iota \upsilon\mu\omega\iota\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\iota \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$.

$\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ occurs in the N.T. at Rom. xiii 6, xv 16 ($\epsilon\iota\iota \tau\omicron \epsilon\iota\iota\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon \lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota\iota \text{Ἰϋ Χρ\omicron\upsilon}$), and Phil. ii 25 with Hebr. i 7, viii 2 ($\tau\omega\iota\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\iota\alpha\iota \lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\varsigma \sigma\kappa\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\iota\eta\varsigma$).

At ix 2-3, occurring at the top of folio 29^R (p. 35 of the printed edition), *where no correction has been made*, and when the scribe was fresh at the beginning of a new page, we find, after [$\kappa\alpha\iota \eta \pi\rho\omicron\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\omega\iota\alpha\iota \alpha\rho\tau\omega\iota\alpha\iota \eta\tau\iota\varsigma \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, missing by mutilation from the foot of the previous page], this:

ΑΓΙΑ ΑΓΙΩΝ' ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΣΚΗΝΗ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΑΝΑ
ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ ΘΥΜΙΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ' ΚΑΙ ΤΗ
ΚΙΒΩΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΚΕΚΑΛΥΜ

The footnotes to the edition record: — η *ante λεγομενη*, and say: 'ana *per errorem* (*pro* $\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$, *cum* Orig)'. The editor means *Orig*^{int} 'sanctum' (for sanctum sanctorum of *d e*), and he suggests $\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$ has been read as

ΑΝΑ. I cannot believe it. There must be some explanation. It is too easy to say that ΑΝΑ is a mere error for ΔΓΙΑ.

At the end of the previous verse the papyrus gives us *αγια αγιων* (for the usual *αγια*), with some MSS, but these *repeat* *αγια αγιων* in verse 3, while others have *τα αγια των αγιων* there.

Room there is for some misunderstanding hereabouts, but, clearly, *αγια* must be right in ver. 2 *fin.* as to *λυχνια*, *τραπέζα*, and *προθεσις*, and a crescendo differentiation be expected in verse 3 after *μετα δε το δευτερον καταπετασμα*.

Instead of this, we are treated to *αγια αγιων* previously as to *λυχνια*, *τραπέζα*, and *προθεσις*, and to the little word ΑΝΑ as to the Holy of Holies behind the second veil. If it was miscopied for ΔΓΙΑ, this would not be a crescendo or a climax at all, and there is no room for more, whereas most authorities emphasize *τα αγια των αγιων*, involving fourteen letters instead of three, or at the most four.

The Syriac says in ver. 2 *fin.*: '... domus sancta', and in ver. 3 *fin.*: '... sanctum sanctorum'.

Surely ΑΝΑ must refer to some other appellation here, whether Greek, or Hebrew transliterated into Greek.

Would it be out of place to recall the pagan apostrophe: Ζεῦ ἄνα, ὦ ἄνα, and the *Hosanna* of the Hebrews? L⁸⁷ Mk. xi, Jo. xii has ΩCΑΝΑ. Is it possible that the Hebrew ΝΑ, ΑΝΑ: 'I pray thee' (Ex. xxxii 32, Gen. i 17), or the Chaldee ΑΝΑ (= 'I', Dan. ii 8 ܐܢܐ) can be intended?

Consult Ps. cxviii 21-29 as to the Headstone of the Corner.

In verse 25 we read this ΑΝΑ very emphatically in: 'I beseech O Jehovah save I pray (Hoshia Na). I beseech O Jehovah make to prosper I pray', in which small sentence נַחֲנֵה occurs twice and נַח twice, out of eight Hebrew words. This Psalm was sung by the Hebrews at the Passover table.† The Mishna records that when the Hallel was celebrated, holding aloft the lallop: 'Every day they made a circuit of the altar and recited ה' הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא, אֱלֹהֵינוּ ה' הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא, as quoted above. When they withdrew, they chaunted twice: 'Beauty is thine, O altar!' For this 'beauty' or comeliness, compare Cant. i 5, iv 3, vi 4 'beautiful as Tirzah (Gk. εὐδοκία), comely (נְאוֹה) as Jerusalem', again involving נַח. The Psalm terminates thus:

'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; we have blessed you out of the House of the Lord. God is the Lord (*lit.* El is Jehovah), which hath shewed us light; bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar. Thou art my

† Rendel Harris on *Hosanna* (Teaching of the Apostles, p. 103). See also Dalman (Worte Jesu, p. 182, end of section 9) as to Jewish liturgical usage of Hoshia na. On p. 181 he says of the Divine name being left out after the popular exclamation: 'Dann gehört der Ruf nur insofern hierher, als hinter הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא der Gottesname weggelassen wurde.'

God, and I will praise Thee; Thou art my God, I will exalt Thee. O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever.'

For the employment of ANA with SANCTUS in the O.T. compare Leviticus xi 44, 45, xix 2, xx 26 with 1 Peter i 16 *fin.* in the Syriac New Testament. Also Eph. iii 13 and Rom. xii 1, where the ana in the Syriac is merged in the equivalent of αἰτοῦμαι and παρακαλῶ, the 'peto ego' or 'oro ego' of the Syriac N.T. And compare in the Syriac also Hebrews xiii 19 and 22, where the first person is finally assumed by the writer, after the 'we' of verse 18.

At Apoc. xxii 13, for the *εγω το αλφα και το ω*, the Syriac has: 'Ana Ana Olaph et Thau'.

Therefore, there is something here in P⁴⁶ below the surface, which implies a variation of the usual description, as: ΔΓΙΑ ΔΓΙΩΝ or ΤΑ ΔΓΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΓΙΩΝ, and which seems to have involved a declaration of the great I AM', with a merged use of the formula 'I PRAY THEE', typical of the situation behind the second veil. This involves considerations of the Ark, the Cherubim, and the Golden Censer, its clouds screening 'the face' of Jahve—('for no man shall see me and live', Exod. xxxiii 20),—and the unseen ministrations, prostrations, and adorations of the solitary administrant.




At 1 Pet. i 16 *ἄγιοι γένησθε* (or *ἔσεσθε*), ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι is a reference to the passages in Leviticus. There, 'Any kodesh' or 'kodesh Any' is employed for *ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι*.

In the Syriac N.T., at this place in Peter's first epistle, we find 'ana kodesh ana'.

Seeing the close connexion between Israel and Egypt, and the temple-education of Moses under Jethro (alias Jether or Reuel), there can be no harm in pointing out that 'ân' in ancient Egyptian means 'Behold' (also 'Pillars',† also ân and âni = the name of a God), Ânnu means Heliopolis (Ra's city, which we call 'On'†); āa = 'most exceedingly great' (Book of the Dead 410:1, also 'house' 431:5, also 'doors' often); āai = power, āau = praise, ānḫ = everliving, un =

† 'And in that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord' (Is. xix 19). Compare also 1 Kings vii 21 and 2 Chr. iii 17.

‡ 'I have seen the eye of Ra when it was full in Ânnu' (Book of the Dead, No. cxxv, introductory clause, p. 192, Budge's translation). Notice the Hebrew word for 'Seer' and 'see' = רָאָה (perhaps originally רִאָּה). Used for *Ecce* in Josh. viii 1. Also the Hebrew words for 'Caput', 'Principium', 'Arcanum', 'Secretum', 'Altitudo'. 'Ra' appears as much in Abraham, Israel as in Rameses or Ra-Ausar (Osiris). See Dalman (Die Worte Jesu, p. 180, on *ἀνωθεν*) quoting 'das obere Auge': עֵינוּ שֶׁל מַעְלָה.

shrine (323:3); nā = I () , āu-ā = am I () , ūa = One, and ā = 'Hail' () again and again.

Also Na or Ka = 'Prithee' in Egyptian, the former equating the exact vocalization of the Hebrews. Modern niceties of differentiation and pointing as between H'nny, Ana, Any, Ann, Anah, *etc.* are of no avail here, for we are far back of the period of pointing.

We have to account for the metonymic suppression of sanctus, and ask ourselves, if we accept it, whether ANA can represent a form of ellipsis, covering the whole matter. And the answer is that it can, whether we read ANA in Greek, or נאנ in Hebrew. Possibly ANA might be a contraction for ANAMECON,† or even of ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ ('Oriens.' 'The Source.' See Luke i 78 and the Sept. translation in Zach. iii 8, vi 12 as quoted below; and Ezek. xliii 1/2).

As a matter of fact, another consideration enters in. At any rate, a small but powerful group of witnesses at Hebr. ix 3/4, *viz.* B, *sah* (not known to Tischendorf), *basm* (not recorded by von Soden, who gives B^{sr} alone), and *aeth^{ro}* adopt a different course and omit *χρυσουν θυμιατηριον και*, reading *v.* 3/4 as: τα αγια των αγιων, εχουσα (B* *χουσα*) την κιβωτον της διαθηκης κ.τ.λ. So there is something beneath the surface at this place in four important documents, whose ancestral lines were contemporary with our papyrus, and from which they derived, and it indicates clearly that we are to be on our guard upon this special ground, and that there was something here which engendered an omission, and produced a strange situation, which still puzzles us, as, long ago, it misled B *sah basm aeth* at this place.‡ In fact, they insert in verse 2 what they omit in verse 4. This has reference to a well-known difficulty as between Hebrews and Exodus/Leviticus with reference to the *θυμίαμα* or *θυμιατήριον*.

To return now to ānχ. In Hebrew we have variations as between אָנַח, אָנַח, אָנַח, אָנַח, which the Concordances list very indifferently and very imperfectly. Thus, אָנַח (Anach or Anch) occurs a dozen times. At Lam. i 4 we render: 'Her priests sigh', but at Amos vii 7, 8 we render אָנַח enigmatically 'a plumbline'. The Septuagint translators faltered here and have Ἀδάμας, probably a mere guess, unless they were intimating an unchangeable *standard* measuring-rod. The A.V. has: 'And behold the Lord stood upon a wall (*made*) by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand. And the Lord said to me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the Lord, Behold I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more.'

† Compare Gen. ix 12-17, xv 17, xvii 2, 7-11, xxxi 44-53, Exod. xiv 20, xxv 22, *etc.*

‡ Possibly a mark here opposite or as to ANA engendered a mistaken omission.

Now we can read 'a pillar' (*cf.* Is. xix 19 already quoted), or we can return to the $\bar{a}n\chi$, and regard it, the Crux Ansata (and divine attribute of Deities and of Egyptian Kings and their 'Kas'), as an inviolable measure of life, of the 'everliving'; hence a measuring-rod or plumb-line, reproduced here in the Hebrew cult and language.

At Ps. xxxviii 9 (10) for $\bar{a}n\chi$ (Anakhah, occurring eleven times) we translate: 'My *groaning* is not hid from thee.' Finally, Isaiah (xliii 11, 25) gives us the closest approximation of $\bar{a}n\chi$ (for $\epsilon\gamma\omega \epsilon\gamma\omega$ or $\epsilon\gamma\omega \epsilon\mu\mu$) with $\bar{a}n\chi$ = a doubled $\bar{a}n\chi$ [$\bar{a}n\chi$ $\bar{a}n\chi$]. This Egyptian $\bar{a}n\chi$ (exact equivalent, literatim of the Hebrew) is a name for Osiris, 'the everliving one' [Book of the Dead 1:10, 51:3, 133:13, 323:2].

A magnificent stele of KHUFU (generally known as Cheops), third-dynasty builder of the Great Pyramid, has recently been recognized in the Desert, two hundred miles south-west of Assouan at a formidable distance from Cairo.† It is part of a group of rough stones, marking an old diorite quarry. The great slab itself, amongst its plain rocky supporters, is deeply graved perpendicularly, and is to be read *from right to left*, downward; and outside the lines forming the cartouche is a separate rope-girdle or bordure ('Ren'), having its starting-points at the base,—one from an $\bar{a}n\chi$ on the right, the other from the quadruple tau-cross or 'tet' on the left,—thus embodying fully the Alpha and Omega, the Aleph and Tav of the King's earthly reign, leaving it to his 'Ka' to continue, or pass into his 'everliving' status. The girdle or rope meets at the top, but is looped in a depression, which equates the form of the top of a heart.‡ At the base of the cartouche is a kind of grille, which may stand for $\bar{a}a$ [= door, or 'exceedingly great', i.e. 'Majesty' (Book of the Dead 476:7)]. Here is the cartouche:



Below the cartouche stands:



hemt

hem?

set


which may commemorate Khufu's royal consort: 'Queen' Hemset, hemt meaning woman, wife, consort, or queen.

[Note. An ibis standing on a fish with its beak touching the head of the fish seems to represent hem. I cannot find, however, the above

† *Daily Telegraph*, 19 March 1938.

‡ Note Ex. iii 2, of the burning bush, a *flame* of fire is: a *heart* (לֵבָה) of fire.

bird (ibis or flamingo) in general use anywhere; for this bird is *not* standing on a fish, but just about to pick up a small fish or some tidbit. The *gem* of the *Book of the Dead* seems always to be an ibis with its neck crooked and not reaching the ground, the bird merely peering *at* the ground. The bird as a 'determinant' would not seem in place here.

The name of Khufu's *daughter* is given as: (read left to right):  (= Hentesen) on a stele in the Cairo Museum, reproduced by Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, p. 5. But the experts regard the symbols as a *regional* description. *Me judice*, the bird equating 'found', they can stand for 'gloomy discovered region', or 'sphere of desolation'. *Suo cuique judicio est utendum*].

Whether we write ānχi, or ānchy, or ānky makes no difference. The letters of the Egyptian are in exact correspondence with the Hebrew אֲנִי, which stood for the Ego, the 'I'† or 'I AM' of Scripture. It is to be presumed that Ānχi is older than Ana, Anah, Anach, or Anȳ,‡ but the words must have been early interchangeable, since it is ANKHȳ ('Because I was naked', iii 10) which meets us first in Genesis and again xviii 27 ('Because I am dust and ashes') but ANȳ is found: vi 17, ix 9, 12, xvii 4, xxxvii 10 and 30 *bis*, and xxxiv 30 *bis*; and in Exodus ANȳ (ix 27, xiv 17, xviii 6, xxix 46 *bis*,§ xxxi 6) succeeds ANKHȳ, which is found at iii 11 on the first occasion of its use for the Ego of Moses. In Judges (v 3 *bis*, vii 18, xi 37) ANKHȳ divides the honours with ANȳ (xii 2, xx 4). In Joshua xiv 7, 10 we have ANKHȳ, but ANȳ in viii 5. In Leviticus (xviii 6, xxvi 28) we find ANȳ. In Deuteronomy xxxii 39-40 we have ANȳ (repeated) in an important Elohist declaration, which the LXX renders:

*Ἰδετε ἴδετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ ἀποκτένω (sic) καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω, πατάξω, καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐξελείπεται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου. . . . καὶ ἐρῶ ζῶ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα




and where, in Hebrew, the ANȳ recurs several times, followed by ANKHȳ:

ראו עתה כי אני הוא ואין אלהים

עמדי אני אמית ואחיה מחצתי ואני ארפא

ואין מידי מציל. . . . ואמרת ח' אנכי לעלם.

In 1 Samuel: ANKHȳ xii 23 'As for me', but at xxiv 17 it is ANȳ, and

† For  Budge and Renouf give 'nuk', but Gardiner (*Grammar*, pp. 2, 29, 435, etc.) 'ink'.—For  or  Budge writes ānuk, Gardiner ink.

‡ According to Gesenius, Ankhȳ is 'the primary and fuller form belonging to the ancient period of the language'.

§ Exod. xxix 42-46 is the important and impressive section as to the presence of the great Ego at the Mercy-seat. Note the 46th verse: 'And they shall know that I am the Lord their God (ANȳ JAHVE ELOHIM), which is emphasized and repeated at the close of the same verse.'

in 2 Samuel we have both: ANKHÝ at iii 28, ANY at xiii 13. In 1 Kings ANKHÝ six times (ii 12, 16, 20, iii 7, xiv 6, xix 4) and ANY twenty-six times, with H'NNÝ six times (xi 31, xiv 10, xvi 3, xvii 12, xx 13, xxi 21). In 2 Kings ANAH (xx 3), ANKHÝ (xxii 19), ANY eighteen times, and H'NNÝ ('Behold I') five times. In 1 and 2 Chron. (1 xxix 14, 2 xxxii 13) ANY. In two passages in the Psalms, in two in Jeremiah, and in Hosea once the word is absorbed in a merger. In Nehemiah (v 15) ANY. In Zechariah (i 15) ANY *bis*. In Job (i 15, 16, 17, 19, xv 6, and xxxiv 33) always ANY. In Cant. four times (ii 1, vi 3, vii 10, viii 10), always ANY. In Eccl. ii 24 (25) ANY. In Ruth ANY twice (i 21, iv 4 *init.*), but ANKHÝ eight times, including thrice in iv 4, where ANY occurs *initio*.

In Ezra vi 12 אנה (Ana), but vii 21 אנה (Anah) as printed, possibly אנח (Ankh).

In Daniel the situation is more complicated; we start at ii 8 with אנח, but thereafter: ii 23, 30, iii 25, iv 4 (= verse 1 Hebrew), 7 (4), 9 (6), 18 (15), 30 (27), 34 (31), 37 (34), v 16, vii 15, 28, we have אנה (Anah); then in viii 5, 15, 27, ix 20, 21 we have אני (Any). In ch. x six times (verses 2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 20) we have again אני (Any), but in verse 11 we find אנחי (Ankhý)! Afterwards, at xi 1 and xii 5, 8 we resume Any. Therefore, out of twenty-nine places, we have ANKHÝ once, ANY fourteen times, ANA once, and ANAH thirteen times.

[N.B. Originally אנה (Anah) may have been אנה, and thus we would have the actual ānḫ, for the fifth and eighth letters of the Hebrew alphabet are so similar and the Hierophants took advantage of it, no doubt for their own purposes of double-language. It is to be observed that the Coptic inheritance upholds the eighth Hebrew letter ח (rather than the fifth ה) because its word for 'I' is ἀποκ (*sah boh*, also ἀπκ *sah*), ἀπακ in the Fayoum, although the Arabs say Ana].

In Ezekiel, throughout (v 8, vi 3, xxxiv 11, 20, xlv 28), the word used is ANY, the last-named passage representing an important asseveration: 'I (am) their inheritance . . . I (am) their possession': and twice otherwise: 'Behold I, indeed I'.

But in Isaiah (which first attracted my attention to the ānḫ) it is different. Here we have both forms. Up to ch. xii (excepting ANY in combination at v 5) we have only three instances (at vi 5 *bis*, viii 18) where we find ANKHÝ [vi 8 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι = הִנְנִי]. This ANKHÝ recurs at xliii 11 *init.* and 25 *init.*, but in the same chapter, at verse 5, we find ANY (as previously at xli 4 and 10). At xlv 6: ANY, and verse 7 the same (in a merger), but at xlv 24: ANKHÝ. At xlv 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 *bis*, 8 we have ANY seven times in quick succession, but at xlv 12 both ANY and ANKHÝ, and verse 13: ANKHÝ. At xlv 18, 19, 21, 22: ANY. At xlv 4: ANY no less than five times over, but at xlv 19: ANKHÝ. At xlvii 8, 10 *bis*: ANY. At xlviii 12: ANY *ter*, 15 *init.* ANY

doubled, 16 and 17: ANŸ. At xlix 4 *init.* ANŸ (not of Jehovah); ver. 15: ANKHŸ, but 18, 21 *bis*, 23, 26: ANŸ, whilst 25: ANKHŸ *bis*. At l 5: ANŸ. At li 12 *init.* we have emphatically ANKHŸ doubled, and in ver. 15 ANKHŸ again. At lii 6: ANŸ, and 6 *fin.* it is repeated in a merger ('Behold it is I'). At lxxv 5 (not of Jehovah): 'for I am holier than thou', where the LXX has ὅτι καθαρὸς εἰμι, the Hebrew has the merger with 'holy'.

In brief, we have in Isaiah ANŸ over fifty times, and ANKHŸ twenty-two times. All this without counting the H'n'h or הנה meaning 'Lo' or 'Behold' occurring so frequently. ('Thitherward' Jer. l 5).

We are therefore face to face with the proposition that the Egyptian ānḫ (interchangeable with ānḫi, see *Book of the Dead*, Vocabulary, p. 64) equates the Hebrew words for the EGO. Now ānḫi means and stands for Osiris (the everliving principle), as stated previously; so the tradition of the great 'I' seems to be continuous. Is it not probable, therefore, we must reiterate, that אנה at Heb. ix 3 *fin.* in the Papyrus is not an error, but stands for Sanctus Sum (or ἁγιος εἰμι or Kodeshan) by elision, neglecting the 'Holy' and standing alone? Because, the Hebrew word—(like so many Egyptian words, having several meanings)—also means 'I beseech', 'Prithee', and that was what the High Priest was there for amongst the holiest of the accessories, 'to make intercession'. This is the word used by Moses (Num. xii 13) when 'beseeching' that Miriam should be healed of her leprosy, and at Exod. xxxiii 18, when 'beseeching' Jehovah to show him his glory. It is the cohortative -an' or the precativē -na, as Rendel Harris calls it ('*What was 'Afikoman'*', p. 11, Cambridge 1927).

Finally, we have another word, occurring some ninety times in the Old Testament, very prominent in all that concerns the tabernacle, the priesthood, and the veiled presence of Jehovah (*cf.* 2 Chron. v 13 and 14).

It is עני. No one is quite sure of the pronunciation (initial, medial, or terminal) of ע. [Gardiner says 'a guttural sound unknown to English'].† In Lev. xvi 13 the combination of Ayin, Nun, Nun means

† On the Moabite Stone the letter Ayin is formed ♂ = Syriac vau, not ayin, which is ♀. In the Preface to that incomparable book '*The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs*', recently published, I find this: 'By holding, though illogically, to accepted spellings of some famous words, I have at least avoided the exasperation of Qur'an and Makkah, and of that intolerable clenching of the glottis, the letter 'āin (sic)'.

Throughout the book of Ruth, the name of Naomi is written נעמי involving ao, which gives us the medial, and Boaz is written בעז involving oa, while Obed is written עובד, and Orpah ערפה, and 'ten' (Ruth i 4): עשר, while at Joshua xix 26 we write Amad for עמער. In Jeremiah xlv 30 we write Pharaoh Hophra (King of Egypt) for פרעה הפרע ('ao' again medial, 'a' terminal);—other examples stand in the forefront of the book of Genesis. The A.V. translators were uncertain,

a cloud: 'that *the cloud* of the incense may cover the mercy-seat'; in the Septuagint the rendering is ἡ ἀτμός, although in xvi 2 we find: ἐν γὰρ νεφέλῃ ὁφθήσομαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου.

I have been carefully through all the other places, from Genesis to Zephaniah, and find no other rendering of נָגַע by ἡ ἀτμός, except in one other place, at Ezek. viii 11: καὶ ἡ ἀτμός τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινε.

Everywhere else, in the 90 places available for control, including other ten passages in Ezekiel, the word is rendered by νεφέλη, with the exception of Job, where the translators have wavered between νεφέλη (twice) and νέφος (four times).

Two other passages require a qualification, viz. Exod. xiv 20, where νεφέλη is replaced in the combination σκότος καὶ γνότος and in Numbers iv 11 and v 22, where it appears embedded in the triplet of: σκότος, γνόφος, θύελλα.

Again, נָעַן, [(G)ahnah?], is concerned on hundreds of occasions with the matter of answers and answering, e.g. 'Before they call I will answer' (Is. lxx 2). Further (Comp. 1 Kings xviii 37): עֲנֵנִי, עֲנֵנִי stands for 'Hear me, Hear me' (+ 'O Lord', in Elijah's prayer at the altar of fire).

This y intrudes even in 'Hosan(n)a', being part of the word for 'save' (יָשַׁע). In the imperative, with or without 'me' or 'us', it occurs a score of times in the Psalms, besides the case cited at cxviii 25.

It is also found in the name of the giant-tribe, sons of Anak (עֲנָק), another variant of אֲנַךְ. Also in the name of Jacob (יַעֲקֹב). Also for Eden (עֵדֶן), Ezra (עֲזָרָה), Ammon (עַמּוֹן), Anakim (עֲנָקִים), Arabia (עֲרָב), and as an initial letter in 'Ashteroth' (1 Sam. xxxi 10).

Remembering that the writers of the New Testament almost invariably used the Greek Septuagint Version, which was quite familiar to them, we might also consider whether the very frequent occurrence of Greek words like ἀναμεcon in Exodus, throughout these tabernacle scenes, e.g. xxvi 33: καὶ διορεῖ τὸ καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων, did not ring in their ears and lead to some short familiar appellation, like the ἀνα which we are now endeavouring to see if it be possible to justify. For both ἀνωθεν and ἀναμεcon occur in close apposition in the previous chapter at a vital place, viz. Exod. xxv. 22: καὶ γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ λαλήσω σοι ἀνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀναμέσον τῶν δύο χερουβὶμ, τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐὰν ἐντείλωμαί σοι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ.

Again, ὑπερανῶ in Ezekiel xi 22 is found in connexion with the for they give us for Moses' father-in-law REUEL in Exod. ii 18 and RAGUEL in Num. x 29 (רָאֻעַ). It also represents aa in 'Baal', and ua in 'Joshua'.

Cherubim: καὶ ἐξῆραν τὰ χερουβὶμ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ δόξα θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ὑπεράνω αὐτῶν.

This word ὑπεράνω occurs at Hebrews ix 5 in a similar connotation (a few sentences after the ἀνα at verse 3 *fin.*) in p^{46} as follows: ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς χερουβεὶν (*sic*) δόξης κατασκιαζον(τα) τὸ ἱλαστήριον (+ καὶ p^{46} *solus*) περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν νῦν λέγειν κατὰ μέρος, besides being used by St Paul himself twice in Ephesians—(if we accept his authorship of that Epistle)—at i 21 and iv 10, as to 'far above' principalities, powers, might, dominion, names, and the very heavens themselves.

There is no exact antithesis to καταπέτασμα of Exod. xxvi 33 in Old or New Testaments of ἀναπέτασμα, but we find one case of the use of ἀναπετάζω—(ἀναπετάννυμι Liddell and Scott)—, which occurs at Job xxxix 26, where we read:

Ἐκ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔστηκεν ἱέραξ,
ἀναπετάσας τὰς πτέρυγας ἀκίνητος, καθορῶν τὰ πρὸς Νότον;

In our A.V. ἀκίνητος is not expressed. It says:

Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, *and* stretch her wings towards the South?

In Exod. xxv 20 ἐκτείνοντες ἐπάνωθεν is used of wings in connexion with the Cherubim, thus:

Ἐκτείνοντες τὰς πτέρυγας ἐπάνωθεν, συσκιάζοντες ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστήριου, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλληλα εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἔσονται τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Χερουβίμ. καὶ ἐπιθήσεις τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄνωθεν . . .

In the N.T. καταπέτασμα is found in Matt. xxvii 51 and Mark xv 38 as: Καὶ (+ ἰδοὺ Matt.) τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω, and in Luke xxiii 45 as: Ἐσχίσθη δὲ (*vel* Καὶ ἐσχίσθη) τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον.

It occurs thrice in Hebrews, at vi 19, ix 3, and x 20.

All this reminds one of the frame of mind which was habitual to those who were accustomed to recall the formula of the angelic hymn at the nativity: 'Glory to God in the highest . . .' (Luke ii 14), and the processional shout (Matt. xxi 9) 'Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις'. They were always looking *ἀνά*, upwards!

One of the most appropriate quotations, in support of our contention, is from Isaiah, as follows:

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις, ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὑψιστος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπανόμενος, καὶ ὀλιγοψύχοις διδούς μακροθυμίαν, καὶ διδούς ζωὴν τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν. (Is. lvii 15).

This from Num. vii 89 is to be noted: ' . . . ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι Μωυσὴν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου λαλήσαι αὐτῷ: καὶ ἤκουσε τὴν φωνὴν

κυρίου λαλούντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἀνάμεσον τῶν δύο Χερουβὶμ καὶ ἔλαλει πρὸς αὐτόν.'

These from Zechariah are also to the point :

Καὶ ἑρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ : Ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς λήψεται ἀρέτην, καὶ καθιεῖται, καὶ κατάρξει ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ βουλὴ εἰρηνικὴ † ἔσται ἀναμέσον ἀμφοτέρων. (Zech. vi 12/13).

And : Ἄκουε δὴ Ἰησοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας, σὺ καὶ οἱ πλησίον σου οἱ καθήμενοι πρὸ προσώπου, διότι ἄνδρες τετρακόποι εἰσὶ, διότι ἰδοὺ ἔγω ἄγω τὸν δοῦλόν μου ἀνατολὴν . . . (Zech. iii 8).

And this from Jeremiah (xxiii 5) :

Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἀναστήσω τῷ Δαυὶδ ἀνατολὴν δικαίαν, καὶ βασιλεύσει βασιλεὺς, καὶ συνήσει καὶ ποιήσει κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Perhaps the above passages in the LXX—(tremendously apposite and familiar to the compiler or compilers of Hebrews)—may be key-passages in the premises ; for in the English A.V. of Zechariah we are only familiar with THE BRANCH for the DAYSPRING of the LXX.

The A.V. of Is. lvii 15 runs this way : 'For thus saith the high (רם) and lofty one (שׁוֹנֵן) that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy : I dwell in the high and holy place.' [Observe 'high' ‡ as well as 'holy' ; and the word for 'dwelling' : ἀναπαύομενος, 'resting', the μοναί of the N.T.].

The A.V. of Zech. iii 8 *fin.* is :

'I will bring forth my servant THE BRANCH', and in vi 13 :

'Thus saith THE BRANCH and (*marg.*) he shall branch up from under him, and he shall build the temple of the Lord . . .',

where the Septuagint has most happily translated πμϚ as 'Day-spring' instead of 'Branch' in both places in Zechariah, as it involves 'arising' ; for there are very many other words, as *netzar* in Is. xi 1, Dan. xi 7, for branch.

We must not forget that the Epistle to the Hebrews was conceived and built up by men completely saturated with O.T. scripture, as portrayed in the translation of the Septuagint. (Compare γνόφος Hebr. xii 18, ζόφος Peter, Jude, and the O.T.). Thus, Zacharias (Luke i 67-80) speaks forth under inspiration and confirms the Prophets in verse 78 :

ἡ διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς
ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους.'

† In the N.T. this word only occurs at Hebr. xii 11 and James iii 17.

‡ Word used throughout for uplift or lifting up. Compare the well-known Psalm 121 (120) 1 : 'I will lift up mine eyes . . .'; and Psalm 139 (138) 9 : 'If I use (ἀναλάβω) the wings of the morning . . .'

With such passages as those quoted above ringing in their ears, a variant reading, like $\alpha\eta\alpha$ in Hebr. ix 3 is now, I hope, more clearly tenable and admissible, and is not to be brushed aside with undue haste.

Should we wish to pursue the matter into the very recesses of the grey-matter of the compiler of the epistle and penetrate the arcana of his personality, we might dwell for a moment upon his partiality for $\alpha\eta\alpha$ - in compounds. Thus, he is alone at:

† vi 6 with $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ [Paul uses $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$ twice, and $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ four times. Very rare elsewhere].

ibid. with $\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}$

‡ xi 12 with $\alpha\eta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$

§ xii 3 with $\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$,

besides using $\alpha\eta\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ at x 9, $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\omega$ at xiii 20, $\alpha\eta\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ at xi 17 (with Acts xxviii 7), $\alpha\eta\alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ at xiii 7 (with Acts xvii 23 only), $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\tau\omega$ at xi 15 (= Matt., Luke, Acts once each; and Zech. ix 8, plus fourteen other texts in the LXX), $\alpha\eta\alpha\mu\eta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ at x 3 (= Luke, Paul, Hebr. only), $\alpha\eta\alpha\mu\mu\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\omega$ at x 32 (= Mark, Paul, Hebr. only), $\alpha\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ at xiii 7, $\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ at vii 14 (fifty times in O.T.), $\alpha\eta\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ at vii 27, ix 28, xiii 15, $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\mu\iota$ at xiii 5; to which add $\alpha\eta\omega$ (with John, Acts, Paul), $\alpha\eta\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ at x 8 (with Luke only, xiv 10), $\alpha\eta\omega\rho\theta\acute{\omega}$ (with Luke, Acts only).

$\alpha\eta\alpha$ - in compounds occurs, literally, thousands of times in the Septuagint and must have had a large influence on the minds of the readers of the Version, which is at the base of nearly all the Scriptural quotations of the writers of the N.T. For example, note 2 Sam. vi 2: $\text{Καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἐπορεύθη Δαυὶδ καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰούδα ἐν ἀναβάσει τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκείθεν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἣν ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς}$ (and see 1 Chron. xiii 6, and Amos ix 6).

And in Ezek. xl 6: $\text{Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πύλιν τὴν βλέπουσαν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐν ἑπτὰ ἀναβαθμοῖς . . .}$

† Used five times in the LXX.

‡ Used seven times in the LXX.

§ Where the writer to the Hebrews uses $\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ('Consider'), the Synoptics are in the habit of using $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ or $\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; Luke would use $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and others yet a different word. ἐπιγινώσκω , used so freely by others, is never used by the author of Hebrews.

At iii 1 and x 24 'Consider' represents $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, a verb also used by Matthew, Luke, James, Acts, and Paul. At vii 4 'Consider' represents $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$, also in general use. Lastly, at xiii 7 'considering' represents $\alpha\eta\alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, a word used only elsewhere once in Acts (xvii 23). It is really quite remarkable how $\alpha\eta\alpha$ - seems to dominate the personal attitude of the compiler of Hebrews, steeped and saturated, as he was, with the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.

Besides *ἀναβαθμοί* and *ἀνάθεμα*, of which more will be found below, there are a number of other words in frequent use, as *ἀναβαίνω* of the cloud, *ἀναβιβάζω* some forty times (especially Is. lvii 7 and lviii 4), *ἀναγγέλλω* (e.g. Ps. xix (xviii) 3: *ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα καὶ νύξ νυκτὶ ἀναγγέλει γινῶσιν*), *ἀναβλέπω*, *ἀναγινώσκω* fifty times in important connotations, e.g. Ex. xxiv 7: *Καὶ λάβων τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ*. See Deut. xvii 18/19, xxxi 11; and note 2 Kings xix 14: *καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἐζεκίας τὰ βιβλία ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνέγνω αὐτά· καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ ἀνέπτυξεν αὐτὰ Ἐζεκίας ἐναντίον κυρίου* (and xxii 8, 10, 16, xviii 2, etc.).

Ἀναγνωρίζω is used once (Gen. xlv 1); and *ἀνάγνωσις* once (Neh. viii 8) in conjunction with *ἀνέγνωσαν*.

As to *ἀναδείκνυμι*, we can add to the O.T. use the *ἀνάδειξον* of Acts i 24 of the apostles' prayer for the proper choice of a successor to Judas:

Καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπον: Σὺ, Κύριε, καρδιογνώστα πάντων, ἀνάδειξον ὃν ἐξελέξω ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα . . .

In the O.T. we recognize it in an important passage in Habakkuk iii 2:

Κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέστην. ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ, ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ. ἐν τῷ παρῆναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ. ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ,

where, in the oft-quoted passage from the A.V. it is rendered otherwise, thus: 'Revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy', for *ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ* and *ἀναδειχθήσῃ* are thus lost; and *ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν* becomes 'in the midst'. See also 3 Maccabees ii 14 in Simon's prayer, of the Holy Place, the one specially consecrated (*ἀναδεδειγμένον*).

We find it again in the N.T. after Zacharias' long testimony:

Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠύξανε καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι, καὶ ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (Luke i 80).

And, at the appointment or designation of the Seventy at Luke x 1:

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος (καὶ) ἐτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα (+ δύο), καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον οὗ ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι.

Then, besides *ἀναζέω*, *ἀνακαλέω*, *ἀνακαλύπτω* (sixteen times, and 2 Cor. iii 18 'unveiled'), *ἀνακάμπω*, *ἀνακράζω*, *ἀναζητέω* (twice in Job), *ἀναζωπυρέω* (Gen. xlv 27 *ἀνεζωπύρησε τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰακώβ . . .*), *ἀνακρούω*, *ἀνακεφαλαίωμα* (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ* Eph. i 10), *ἀναλαμβάνω* seventy times (not forgetting Ex. xxviii 12 of Aaron's 'uplifting' the twelve names on

the breastplate, and Ex. xix 4: καὶ ἀνέλαβεν ὑμᾶς ὡσεὶ ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀετῶν), ἀναλάμπω, ἀναμάρτητος once Deut. xxvii 19, once John viii 7, ἀναμένω, ἀναπληρώω, ἀνασώζω (over twenty times), ἀνάστασις (thrice O.T., forty times N.T.), ἀναφωνέω, we have ἀνατόλη and ἀναφέρω over two hundred times each in O.T. and ten times each in N.T., ἀναφορά twice (Num. iv 19, Ps. l 21), ἀναπαύω fifty times O.T. and a dozen times N.T. [ἀναθυμίαμα ascent of incense, ἀνάκλησις invocation, ἀνάκτισις new creation, ἀνάκτορον shrine, are not used in the N.T.].

As to ἀνάπαυσις (occurring in Matthew, Luke, and Apoc.), note specially:

Ex. xxxi 15 ἀνάπαυσις ἁγία τῷ κυρίῳ,

Ex. xxxv 2 ἅγια σάββατα, ἀνάπαυσις κυρίῳ,

and ἀνάπαυμα at:

Is. xxviii 12 τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάπαυμα τῷ πεινῶντι.

Two words are prominent and suggestive, which should, perhaps, be considered specially, viz. ἀναβαθμοί and ἀνάθεμα. As to ἀναβαθμοί, it is used of Solomon's great ivory and gold throne (1 Kings x 19, 20, 2 Chr. ix 18/19). Also of the 'degrees' in the 'House of the Sun' (Is. xxxviii 8 = 2 Kings xx 9/11), and again in Ezekiel in the vision-royal of the regal measurer: 'καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πύλην τὴν βλέπουσαν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐν ἑπτὰ ἀναβαθμοῖς καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ αἶλᾶμ τῆς πυλῆς ἴσον τῷ καλᾶμῳ . . .'

And we must not overlook the wonderful group of short psalms of 'degrees' or steps, which follow the long cxixth. They are numbered 120-134 in the Hebrew, but 119-133 in the Greek. They are headed Ὁδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, and the theme of all fifteen songs is *a lifting up* of the eyes and hands of those who stand in the House of the Lord, in praise and prayer. Compare the Mishna, treatise Succah, p. 141.

They are familiar to us all, including No. 126 (125) 1: 'Unless the Lord build the house . . .'

The closing in 134 (133) is as follows:

Ἰδοὺ δὴ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι κυρίου, οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν οἰκῷ κυρίου ἐν αὐλαῖς οἴκου Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς νυξίν· ἐπάρατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον.

In 132 (131) we have ἀναβήσομαι . . . ἀνάστηθι [cp. ἀναστήσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον (Hagg. ii 9)] . . . ἀνάπαυσιν . . . ἀνατελῶ, and in verses 7/8:

Εἰσελευσώμεθα εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ (αγγλῶς 'at his footstool'). ἀνάστηθι κύριε εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, σὺ καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ ἁγιάσματος σου.

Then there are two psalms of *remembrance* (εἰς ἀνάμνησιν), viz. Ps. xxxvii 1 and lxix 1, thus headed. The word also occurs at Lev. xxiv 7

of the consecration of the shewbread (see also Numb. x 10), and in the N.T. thrice: Luke xxii 19, 1 Cor. xi 24, 25, Heb. x 3.

It remains to mention the word $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$, which occurs five times in the New Testament, but where there are no cross-references to the Old Testament; yet the Septuagint is full of it.

The word itself is pregnant with the idea of a votive-offering (whether we write it $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ or $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\mu\alpha$ †), for it means a 'laying-up'. It is used in verbal form at 1 Sam. xxxi 10 of the Philistines laying-up the dead King Saul's armour ($\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$ ‡ $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$) in the 'Ἀσπερείον and of Judith laying up Holophernes' spoils in Jahve's temple.

However, we are generally taught that $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ means an accursèd and not a blessèd thing. *But it means both!* Just like *sacré* in French.

The O.T. Concordance, under the Hebrew word, gives a large preponderance of translation in the A.V. as *accursèd*, and only a few as the *devoted* thing. But Joshua vi 17 and all Deuteronomy xiii explain the matter; for, what was first the 'devoted' thing to the Lord, in the matter of spoils, became the 'accursed' thing, if the people appropriated of it illegitimately.

The clearest passage for control is at Lev. xxvii, the whole chapter being devoted to sanctification, where, in verses 28/29 we read:

$\Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ δὲ $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$, ὃ $\alpha\nu$ $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\eta$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀπὸ πάντων ὅσα αὐτῷ ἔστιν, ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ κατασχέσεως αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀποδώσεται, οὐδὲ λυτρώσεται. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ ἅγιον ἁγίων ἔσται τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Here, then, at last, we get the $\alpha\nu\alpha$ in conjunction with $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\nu$.

We translate in A.V.: 'Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord'.

[The matter commences at Lev. xxvii 21: 'as a field devoted' (*Anglicè* and *Hebraicè*), but $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ is not there used in the Septuagint. It is, however, used as above in verses 28 and 29; and in Num. xviii 14: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$, where we translate: 'everything devoted in Israel', while in Deut. xiii 17 (18) it occurs again: ἀπὸ τοῦ $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, where A.V. has 'cursèd' in the text and 'devoted' in the margin.

At Ezek. xlv 29 we find: 'καὶ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἀφόρισμα' (as at Lev. xxvii 21: 'ἡ ἀφορισμένη'), where A.V. has 'every dedicated thing' in the text, and 'devoted' in the margin].

† $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\mu\alpha$ occurs once at Luke xxi 5, where our A.V. says of the Temple: 'adorned with goodly stones and gifts', but it is not $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ or $\delta\omega\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ or $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$, but $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\varsigma$, which the R.V. renders 'offerings', i.e. votive-offerings.

‡ $\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ occurs only here and at Lev. xxvii 28, 2 Sam. vi 17 (of the Ark), and Mic. iv 13, where A.V. has: 'and I will consecrate (Sept.: καὶ $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) their gain unto the Lord and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth'. (Once more at Mic. vii 5 of a different matter). Judith xvi 19 $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$. . ὡς $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha$.

I venture to suggest that $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ in Greek at Hebr. ix 3 might also indicate an abbreviation for $\alpha\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$. They could not well use the word in full, because it has the double-meaning of blessed or accursed. But when we talk of 'the Sacre of Louis XI' we mean 'the Consecration of Louis XI' and there is no thought in a Frenchman's mind of anything else, although his ordinary conversation may be full of the other thing.

Sacre and sacré are primarily good words. So with $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$, a votive-offering.†

The early Church translated the various expressions for 'offering', related to $\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$, into $\alpha\lambda\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$, connecting the $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, the $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$, and the $\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\theta\nu\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ of 1 Peter ii 5 with the uplifting of the offerings, involving $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ of some sort. Cp. Num. iv 19.

But let us suppose that we had been accustomed to read $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ instead of ($\tau\alpha$) $\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$ ($\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$) $\delta\gamma\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ here. What would be our impressions, if we suddenly discovered a document as old as this Papyrus with $\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\delta\gamma\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ or $\tau\alpha$ $\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\gamma\iota\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, replacing the $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ to which we had been accustomed? We should say that it was 'accommodation' to the O.T. in Exodus xxvi 33, and we should argue the point at length.

What I am suggesting is that the $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ in Greek here in p^{16} was in the original draft of the epistle as a familiar metonym and stands for what we, with equal familiarity, term 'THE BEYOND',—the Uppermost-upper, the 'high and lofty' place of Isaiah lvii 15, quoted previously,—being the equivalent of the supremely holy place, but intimating in concise terms all that the most holy place stood for. Compare $\alpha\nu\alpha\psi\nu\chi\acute{\eta}$ a life-giving inhalation, and $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\psi\nu\acute{\xi}\iota\varsigma$ a cooling or a refreshing of Strabo and Acts iii 19 ($\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\iota$ $\alpha\nu\alpha\psi\nu\acute{\xi}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$).

As a matter of fact, the only difficulty is as to $\chi\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\omicron\alpha$ $\theta\gamma\mu\iota\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$, for the censer was to be carried in through the inner veil (Lev. xvi 12) and does not seem to have been part of the permanent furniture within the second veil, like the Ark and the Mercy-seat overshadowing the $\iota\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, which are detailed thereafter in Hebr. ix 4-6; and so, as stated before, B *basm sah aeth* omit $\chi\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\omicron\alpha$ $\theta\gamma\mu\iota\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ at the beginning of verse 4, although there is nothing in the record at Exod. xxvi and Levit. xvi to prevent the censer having been moved to and fro, without and within the veil; and resting now in one place and now in another. But B or its prototype saw a difficulty, and removed the words $\chi\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\omicron\alpha$ $\theta\gamma\mu\iota\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$

† In French a gulf stands between: *une chose sacrée* and: *quelle sacrée affaire*. Similarly 'sanctions' are now used for approvals and for prohibitions. In Hebrew 'Ga'al' is also *redeem*, or *avenge* (*stain, defile, pollute*).

καὶ from verse 4, and added in verse 2 the words: καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι θυμιατήριον after ἡ τράπεζα καὶ ἡ προθεσὶς τῶν ἁρτῶν and before ἡτις λέγεται ἁγία, thinking to conform more closely to the Old Testament record.

It is well to remember that Metonymy is rife in the Bible, which is full of alternative appellations.

We find Adam named after the Earth, the red-earth or the red-blood. Migdel (the Tower) becomes Babel in Gen. xi 5/9. We find Abram and Abraham, Sarai and Sarah, Jacob and Israel, Jethro (Jether) and Reuel, Benoni and Benjamin, Oshea and Joshua, Luz and Bethel, Gideon and Jerubbaal, Naomi and Mara; Tophet and Gia Haregah (Jer. vii 32 and xix 6).

Nachon in 2 Sam. vi 6 (Ναχώρ Sept.) becomes Chidon in 1 Chr. xiii 9 (where the Sept. omits). In Hosea ii 16 Baali becomes Ishi by a change of circumstance. In 2 Chr. iii 17 and 1 Kings vii 21 considerable importance is attached to the 'Pillars', named Jachin and Boaz. In Num. xxxii 38 we find: 'Nebo and Baal-meon, their names being changed'. 2 Macc. i 36: 'Naphthar, but many call it Nephi'.

For Zion and Jerusalem we have Hephzibah and Beulah (Is. lxii 4), and Dareshah (ver. 12), *i.e.* the city Delectable as opposed to 'the city forsaken'; characterized as 'the Throne of the Lord' in Jer. iii 17, and 'the Perfection of beauty, the Joy of the whole Earth in Lam. ii 15; and in the Psalms we have a great play upon El, Eli, Eloh, Elohi, Elohim, with variants of Jah and Jahve and Adoni.

A careful differentiation is made between such men as Samuel † and Nathan, Haggai and Zechariah, who were 'prophets' (clairaudients) and such as Iddo, Gad, Asaph, Hanani, Jeduthun, who were 'seers' (clairvoyants); also as between 'soothsayers' or 'diviners' (as Balaam), 'dreamers', 'visionaries' (2 Chr. xxvi 5), 'wizards'—(sometimes Sept.: τοῖς ἐπαιδοῖς, sometimes: τοὺς γνώστας)—, 'astrologers', 'numerologists', 'magicians', 'necromancers', 'enchanters', and those having 'familiar-spirits'. In Is. xlvii 13 'seers' are coupled with astrologers and star-'gazers' (οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ ὀρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας Sept.).

To these we can add 'inquirers', 'petitioners'; and 'consulters of oracles': שׂאֵל [1 Sam. xxx 8: 'And David inquired of the Lord' (on the Ephod); 1 Sam. xxviii 6: 'And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets'].

† 1 Sam. ix 9: 'Beforetime in Israel when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake: Come let us go to the Seer; for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.' In verse 19 Samuel says to Saul: 'I am the Seer' (Heb. אֵלֵהּ, Gk. ὁ βλέπων).

Also, differentiation is made between the words (οἱ λόγοι) of the prophets compared to the Word (or the Whisper : נאם) of the Lord.† And even between prophets and prophets, which extends to real prophets, who, however, sometimes 'divine for money' (Mic. iii 11).

On the female side a difference is signalled between Miriam, Deborah, Noadiah, and Huldah, who were 'prophetesses' (נביאה) and the woman of Endor, who had a 'familiar-spirit' (אוב) which the Septuagint renders : γυνή ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

In the New Testament Saul is Paul, Simon is Peter or Cephas, John is Mark, Cleopas is Alphaeus, Boanerges signified the sons of Zebedee, Lebbaeus is Thaddaeus, Barsabas is Justus, and the Devil, as father of lies, has a variety of appellations. Salem and Jerusalem are interchangeable, and Jerusalem, Israel, David are nearly always contracted in writing, together with ἰησοῦς, χριστός, κύριος, θεός, ἀνθρώπος, γιος, οὐρανός, πνεῦμα, πατήρ, σταυρός.

METONYMY is the exchange of names between things related. It is founded, not on resemblance, but on the relation of container and thing contained, sign and thing signified.

Thus, the Bible applies to the Redeemer or Saviour of his people at least sixty different appellations; and in the Old Testament, while Jehovah is amplified to Jehovah-Shammah, Jehovah-Jireh, Jehovah-Nissi, Jehovah-Shalom, Jehovah-Tsidkenu, we find a counterpart in the New Testament, when St. James speaks of God-the-Giver (i 5), of God-the-Untemptable (i 13), of God-the-Lawgiver (iv 12), and the Writer of Acts (i 24) of God-the-heartknower. In Romans (xvi 26) St Paul speaks of the God-of-the-ages. In Hebrews iii 4 we come across God-the-omnibuilder, and in John i 1 God-the-Word, 1 John i 5 God-the-Light.‡ In Maccabees we have numerous other titles.

Thereagainst a contraction, anagram, analogue, metonym, tralation or apocope cannot be ruled out of order here, at Hebr. ix 3, forthwith.

And note that, in the Temple of Solomon the Oracle of the Holy Place is called DABIR in 1 Kings vi, vii, viii, 2 Chr. iii 16, v 7, 9, e.g. :

1 K. viii 6 καὶ εἰσφέρουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς
εἰς τὸ δαβὶρ τοῦ οἴκου εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὑπὸ τὰς
πτέρυγας τῶν Χερουβίμ.

† 'The Lord had told Samuel in his ear the day before' (1 Sam. ix 15).

‡ Nehemiah speaks of a God of pardons; and both he (ii 4, 20) and Cyrus (Ezra i 2, ii 5, 20) of the God of Heaven (Elohi Shamaim). Curiously enough 'the Triune God' is reserved for Baal and coupled with his name in 2 Kings iv 42 *Baal-Shalishah*—summarily dismissed in the LXX by the word βαθαρισά! Again, in Judges viii 33 and ix 4 we find 'the God of the Covenant' (בעל ברית) applied to Baal as *Baal-b'rith*. The LXX weakens the construction in viii 33, but comes out boldly in ix 4 with : καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐβδομήκοντα ἀργυρίου ἐξ οἴκου βααλβερὶθ.

2 Chr. v 7 καὶ εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης Κυρίου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, εἰς τὸ δαβὶρ τοῦ οἴκου εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ὑποκάτω τῶν πτερύγων τῶν Χερουβίμ.

Also that, in Ezekiel's vision of a Heavenly Temple, the altar is called **ARIEL** (xliii 15-16) ; so that there are precedents !

And we establish *Dabir* and *Ariel* as definite precedents for calling the whole of the innermost inclosure by a special appellation. In Maccabees : *Hagiasma*, *Hagneia*. In New Testament times we find Jesus speaking of *Korban* (Mark vii 11 : *κορβάν, ὃ ἐστὶ δῶρον*), whereas at Matt. xv 5 only *δῶρον* is named, with another reference at xxiii 18/19 to τῷ δώρῳ. This *Korban* refers to the קרבן of Leviticus i-iv *etc.*, and of Numbers v, vi, and, especially, vii.

But now we are in post-Christum times ; and it remained to find an analogue covering the Hebraic and Greek languages.

I think **ANA** is singularly happy—though it is remarkably well hedged about and occulted—for it has been shewn that it fulfils the requirements of a perfect analogue, both *literatim* and also in its suggestiveness ; because we are at once introduced in thought to Greek words, such as :

ἀνατολή, the dayspring (Luke i 78),

ἀνάψυξις, a refreshing (Acts iii 19),

ἀνάπανσις, a haven of rest (Matt. xi 29),

ἀνάμνησις, remembrance (1 Cor. xi 24, 25),

ἀνακυλίω, of rolling away the stone (Mark xvi 4), and to

ἀνάστασις, of resurrection—all these words in every Christian's mouth ; besides the ἀνασώζω of Ezekiel and of **Ps**⁴⁶ in Hebr. x 14, yet to be discussed. Note also ἀνοικοδομέω of Neh. ii 5, Amos ix 11, Zech. i 16.

Then, on its Hebrew side, we have seen how **אנא** fulfils the conditions of the everliving principle, the **I** of majesty and eternity and of the prayers at the Mercy-seat.

Coming to sub-apostolic times, we find a word, not used in the N.T., employed by Clement of Rome, *viz.* **ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΣ**, which actually involves and *contains* the **ΑΝΑ**. I notice that the Lexicon considers **πανάγιος** to be the property of the **LXX**, but it does not seem to appear in the Canonical books. This **ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΣ** can, in turn, be considered a cryptogram for

Α(ΓΙΟΣ) Ν(ΑΙ) Α(ΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ),

as in 3 Macc. ii 2, 21 Α(ΓΙΟΣ) (Ε)Ν Α(ΓΙΟΙΣ),

if we care for such obscurities. Indeed these keys fit the lock perfectly.

We can also refer to *ἀγνεία*, another word in every early Christian's mouth—holy purity, or pure wholeness—occurring at 1 Tim. iv 12, v 2 (and, very likely, at Gal. v 23), which also contains *ανα*, but no emphasis need be placed upon it. See also 1 Macc. xv 36 *fin*.

Then comes, in sixth place, the extra-biblical but Rabbinic *Shekinah*, or Shachanah, as to the divine glory, a substantival expression, coined from the verb-forms employed as Shakhan (שכן) concerning the super-dwelling immanence of God, as at Exod. iii 2: the burning bush; xxiv 16: covering Sinai; Num. ix 17: of the pillar. Once, Deut. xii 5: 'unto His habitation (לשכנו) shall ye seek'.

In seventh place we ought not to overlook the exceptional word *μυσάα*, used by the LXX sixteen times, as an alternative for *θυσία* or *δῶρον*. This word does not appear to be in my Greek lexicon. In Daniel ii 46 our A.V. translates it 'oblation', but it was quite familiar to the early Christian users and students of the Septuagint. It also embraces our *ava*.

As to *Shiloh*, at Gen. xlix 10 ('until Shiloh come'), we have still to find out exactly what was meant, but it is another case of a meaning hitherto buried and occulted by the Biblical practice of cabbalistic hyperboles, anagrams, analogues, alternatives, cryptograms, hierograms, and metonyms.

Nor can we (in ninth place) completely overlook our *ana* in retrospect. Let us turn for a moment to Mesopotamia, which is one of the principal 'cradles' of the Earth, at any rate in this Era of the race.

As a matter of historical interest and as a tradition of immeasurable age (going back to 2300 B.C. and earlier) we enter the present oil-bearing domain of IRAK—rehabilitated in name after four thousand years—and we find at URUK [compare ERECH (אֶרֶךְ) Gen. x 10] that EANNA is the appellation for the whole of the double-sanctuary, used repeatedly on inscriptions in the great Temple-compound and noble Zikurrat. [See J. Jordan's URUK-WARKA, Berlin 1930, with numerous plates, and subsequent illustrated pamphlets 1931, 1932].

As to the doubled n, Sayce says (Assyrian Grammar, p. 64) that 'a double Consonant in Assyrian is frequently written where there is no grammatical reason for its existence; it then denotes that the accent falls on the preceding vowel'. Further, that a word can be made 'collective' by adding ānu at the end, e.g. 'cirba-ānu' for 'an offering' in a generic sense. The 'Ego' is given as 'anacu'; thus it is not far removed from anχ and anχi. [This doubling of n in Egyptian is dealt with by Gardiner (Grammar p. xxvi) and by Gunn in a monograph of 200 pages]. All this may be mere coincidence, but it involves Abraham's country, Melchisedek, great kings and priests of antiquity, and must go on record. Dr Sidney Smith informs me that EANNA simply means 'The House of Anu' (spelled Ana on the El-Amarna tablets).

In Hebr. vii 21 the writer's thought flies back to Abraham and Ur, and he cites Psalm cx 4 as to the 'order of Melchisedek'. In the

Septuagint version, in the previous verse (= cix 3) we find: 'ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ἀγίων σου, ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησα σε'. Our A.V. says: 'in the beauties of holiness from (or 'more than' *mg.*) the womb of the morning; thou hast the dew of youth'.

Notice πρὸ ἑωσφόρου, another expression for ἀνατολῆς or dayspring. The Hebrew word in Ps. cx 3 is מִשְׁחָה.

That we must take account of the Cabbalists and of cabbalistic expressions can be seen at Hebr. ix 5, where, as to Mercy-seat and Cherubim, the author adds: 'of which we cannot now speak particularly' ('severally' R.V., κατὰ μέρος Gk.), which certainly indicates a mental reservation, occurring, as it does, only two verses beyond the passage under discussion at ix 3 as to: ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΔΑΔ.

As to the Ark (אֲרֹן), its name, as a ship or shipping, is אֲנִי, and feminine too, like ναῦς and κιβωτός in Greek. There is an unfinished and recondite sentence in 1 Chr. xiii 6 as to the Ark, which we render in A.V.: 'And David went up and all Israel to Baalah (that is) Kirjath-jearim, which (belonged) to Judah, to bring up thence the ark of God the Lord, that dwelleth (between) the Cherubims, whose name is called (on it)'.

The final sentence in Greek is rendered: οὗ ἐπεκλήθη ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. In the Hebrew it is: אֲשֶׁר-נִקְרָא שָׁם.

Samaritan usage was to substitute *Shama* (שָׁמָא) for the name of Jahve and Adoni. Hebrew הָשָׁם. See Dalman on הָשָׁם אֲנִי and יְהוָה אֲנִי (Worte Jesu, p. 150).

If the Jewish-Christians chose to adopt some short appellation for τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων, there would be every reason to accommodate Aramaic to Greek in some way; and we have seen that אֲנִי and ΔΑΔ have a certain correspondence in the premises.

For, finally, ἀνά, without case, covers the point and means 'everywhere', that is 'all around', permeating everything. Thus:

Ἄνὰ θεοὶ ἦσαν = Everywhere there were gods,

Ἄνὰ ὀμφαὶ θεοῦ = Everywhere were oracles of God,

Ἄνὰ ἁγιότης ἦν = Everywhere (all around) there was Holiness.

The word ἀνά also occurs in a last but different connexion with Cherubim or the 'living creatures' of John's Apocalypse, at Rev. iv 8 involving the Trisagion: καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα, ἐν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνά πτέρυγας ἕξ . . . καὶ ἀνάπανσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, λέγοντες: ἁγίος ἁγίος ἁγίος, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

There is a variant reading here of the equivalent of ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάνω (for ἀνά) by *syr sah boh* 1/2, which brings us to a consideration of ἐπάνω. This word (with ἄνωθεν) is prominent in John's

Gospel at iii 31: 'He that cometh from above (ἀνωθεν) is above all (ἐπάνω πάντων); he that is of the earth is earthly and of the earth speaketh he; he that cometh from heaven is above all (ἐπάνω πάντων).'

*Ανωθεν occurs fifteen times in the New Testament.

And we meet with ἀναμέσων for the last time at Rev. vii 17: ὅτι τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀναμέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς, καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς (ὡς ζώσας) πηγὰς ὕδατων, καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ Θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

For upon examination it has become evident that the hortative -an' and the precativē -na have the staunch support of a triune grouping of Hebrew with its נִנָּה and cognate words, of Greek with its ἀνα and ἀνά, and of Egyptian. [Double n in Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, is negligible].

Sanskrit also is not to be denied, for AN means to breathe, to live, ANNA means food (and DEVA-ANNA food for the gods, ANNA-MAYA metaphysical food), ÂJNA means authority, ÂN-ANA the Face or Van. So that, if we add Sanskrit, we have a sturdy quadruple, quadrilateral base to our Pyramid, which enshrines the Holy of Holies in its metonymic garb of ANA.

Within this old pyramid we must rest our case.

Any critic who wishes to insist that ANA in Heb. ix 3 is an error for ἀγια ἁγίων must account for the fact that no corrector or reader of our papyrus has touched it or questioned it. [ANA occurs at the end of a line again at vi 6, vii 14, xiii 7].

Any critic, who, like Benoit (*Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1937, p. 65) may consider ἀνασχωζομενοyc in Heb. x 14 to be an error for ἀγιαζομενοyc,—and 'an ingenious error' at that,—is requested to examine Ezekiel's language in vi 8, 9, vii 16 (καὶ ἀναθωσθήσονται οἱ ἀνασχωζόμενοι), xiv 22, and xxiv 26, 27, and to consider whether the τοὺς ἀνασχωζομένους of P¹⁶ in Heb. x 14 is not the more likely traditional expression than τοὺς ἀγιαζομένους, which may easily have been an early substitution dragged in from ii 11 or x 10 in an attempt at harmonization, to accord with the gradually increasing trend in Hebrews of a vicariously attained sanctity, or engendered sanctification, as the epistle was reproduced and circulated.

Any critic who wishes to wipe out the many singulars for plurals of P¹⁶, as

παντος for παντων Heb. vii 2 (with B, syr) αρκουμενος Heb. xiii 5
 ολοκαντωμα for ολοκαντωματα Heb. x 6 (with D E^{gr} d sah 2/4 aeth)
 αμαρτιας for αμαρτιων Heb. x 26 (with D* Scr^{uno} So^{uno} sah Marc^{mon})
 δομα for δοματα Eph. iv 8 (cp. Phil. iv 17, where, however P¹⁶ omits)
 φοβος for φοβοι 2 Cor. vii 5 (so syr and Tert^{diserte}: extrinsecus pugnæ, intrinsecus timor')

μονον for μονοι Phil. iv 15 (so *syr*)

σχισμα for σχισματα 1 Cor. i 10 (so 37)

παν for παντα Rom. viii 28 (so *syr*),

must satisfy us that he has consulted the Syriac version and has considered the Syro-Greek foundation of the Epistle, before preferring the testimony of the later witnesses for the use of the plural.

And, lastly, as bearing upon early Christian mentality on the subject of the Holy of Holies and the new Eucharist, it will be found in the Didache that (x 3 onwards), in speaking of heavenly meats, life eternal, and a prayer to save the ecclesia from all evil and to perfect her in heavenly love and to gather her from the four points of the compass (referring to Matt. xxiv 31), we find this:

ἐλθέτω χάρις· καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος·
ὡς ἀνὰ τῷ θεῷ δᾶδ· εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω·
εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι μετανοεῖτω· μαρاناθὰ ἀμήν.

Hosanna, therefore, curiously intercalated here—a kind of Ἰὼ ἀνά or Ἰὼ Ἄνα,—seems to have been carried forward from the passover procession-cry (Matt. xxi 9), and currently used as an apostrophe.

At any rate, we cannot summarily dismiss ΔΝΑ as a mere error for ΔΓΙΑ, since ΔΓΙΩΝ is lacking.

Not much farther ahead, we notice in Heb.

x 14 the: ΔΝΑCΩZOMENOYC of \mathfrak{P}^{16}

for the ΔΓΙΑCΩZOMENOYC of the others, [*illeg.* \mathfrak{P}^{13}]

and yet it is doubtful whether the boot is not on the other foot, and that copyists *subsequent* to our papyrus did not write ΔΓΙΑ . . . for ΔΝΑ . . ., because ἀνασώζω was not familiar and is not otherwise a N.T. word, although it is perfectly good Greek (Sophocles, Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato, and Polybius: 'to be restored to one's rights, to be rescued back from exile'). Frequent in Ezekiel, see vi 8, 9, vii 16, xiv 22, xxiv 26, 27, and used twenty-four times by the LXX. Therefore ἀνασωζόμενους is a beautiful reading here (which may have been lost early):

'For by one offering he hath perfected for ever those brought back from a condition of exile.'[†] See above as to x 14 and x 10.

[†] I think that there lurks 'behind the Arras', as it were, of the third century, a somewhat similar example, lost, to all intents and purposes, since then.

I refer to an interchange of μ for γ in Matt. xxiv 7 (= Mark xiii 8, Luke xxi 11) as to λιμοι και λοιμοι. There are plenty of minor variations here and many changes of order, but no Greek MS, so far reported, has λοιγοι for λοιμοι. Λοιγός means death, and also death *by* pestilence, so λιμοι και λοιγοι would be apposite: 'famines and (consequent) deaths *by* pestilence'. It would be useless and pre-

I ask who was the more likely to promulgate $\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\omega\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ —the poor diligent scribe or the author with his script in the background? For the author would be reproducing the language of the LXX, of which he was well cognisant, while the scribe would not be likely to contract the word to $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, but revisers might do so, basing themselves on the $\eta\gamma\lambda\alpha\varsigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ of verse 10, whereas the author would not be concerned with such ‘consistencies’, but would be diligently pursuing his theme and working up to his climaxes, as he saw fit.

A good example of such (early) accommodation can be seen at James ii 20 and 26, where *νεκρά* has been brought back from verse 26 to verse 20 and has displaced the undoubtedly correct *ἀργη*.

Verse 26 reads:

Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα χωρὶς πνεύματος νεκρὸν ἐστίν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων νεκρά ἐστίν.

Verse 20 is:

Θέλεις δὲ γνῶναι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε κενέ, ὅτι ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή
ἐστίν :

In verse 20 ἀργή is the reading of BC* 27, 29 (= *Sod* 157) *Sod*⁷⁸ *sah arm* 1/2 *latt* (ff *vg* 'vacua', *am*² *fu dem Bed* 'otiosa'), against all the rest, that is: NAC²KLP *minn. syr boh arm* 1/2 *aeth Ps-Ath Oec Cyrbis Or vg*^{Cl}. *et am** for νεκρά, so the 'accommodation' was inaugurated quite early.

In the Septuagint the word is rare, but Exod. xxi 19 *πλὴν τῆς ἀργείας αὐτοῦ ἀποτίσει καὶ τὰ ἱατρεῖα* and Is. i 13 *ῖν. νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν* give us the meaning. [In the latter case, obscured in our A.V.].

The accommodation of verse 20 to verse 26 was, perhaps, also engendered by the fact that ἀργή can mean 'shining' as well as 'idle', although we have it (ἀργούς) in 2 Pet. i 8 translated '*barren*', and ἀργαί in Tit. i 12 (γαστέρες ἀργαί, '*slow bellies*') in the quotation from

sumptuous for me to advance this supposition of a lost reading if a slight trace did not linger in a few Versions, but it does.

When we turn to *pers* in Matthew, we find: 'fames et penuria: . . . et mors', and *boh* actually adds *και θανατοι* there. If we write *λοιγοι* instead of *θανατοι* we have found the lost word. In Hogg's translation of the *diatess^{Arab}* (in the Suppt. to the Ante-Nicene Library) he gives: 'famines and deaths and agitations'. [Hill does not so translate]. In Syriac the difference is minute. ܠܝܥܝܢ signifies *death*, and ܠܝܥܝܢܐ means *pestis*: a little *nun* makes the difference. In the Arabic it is even more minute.

Now, in Luke, *a*, opposite λοιμοι of D, has *morbi*, but *e*: *lues* (*b* wanting, *a* = *pestes*), while *boh* in Luke has λοιγοι for λοιμοι (supporting its reading in Matthew), and *pers* has: *et mors plurima* (supporting his Matthew text). So, there has been, evidently, a substratum of confusion, at some remote time, as between λοιμοι and λοιγοι, *morbi* and *mortes*, due, doubtless, to Septuagint influence; see Ezekiel vii 15, xii 16, xiv 21.

Epimenides, and 1 Tim. v 13 twice over, there rendered 'idle', as also Matt. xii 36: 'But I say unto you that every *idle* word which men may utter, they shall give account thereof in a day of judgement', and xx 3 as to the *idlers* in the parable, waiting for employment.

vii 15 ἀνιστασθαι ^{p⁴⁶} *solus* (for ἀνιστᾶται).

The Latin is *surgit* or *exsurgat*, but *Sedul* has *exsurgetet*. *Arabint* has *surrexerit*, and *aeth*: *accipietur sacerdos ad similitudinem constitutionis Melchizedeci*. [^{k^{Scr}} ἀνιστᾶτε].

ἀνιστασθαι may be considered awkward after the preceding εἰ, but note that *aeth* and *syr* omit the εἰ, the former saying: 'because he saith', and the latter: 'in this which he said that', in which case an infinitive is possible. This εἰ can be, and is, actually suppressed in the A.V., which has: 'For that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest.' The German is similar: 'So nach der Weise Melchisedeks ein anderer Priester aufkommt.'

Εἰ with an infinitive is sometimes used by Herodotus (as here) in oratio obliqua. (Cf. *Lex. sub εἰ*).

xii 26 There seems to be a slight clue here, again concerning εἰ (in a different way). ^{p⁴⁶} writes εἰ ἡ φωνή for οὗ ἡ φωνή, and we find the *Sahidic* quite alone in saying: 'If he shook the earth in a voice at that time.' All others begin: 'Cujus vox...' This must be sought out in Horner's edition, for no other editors have noticed this yet. The εἰ in ^{p⁴⁶} is super-dotted for deletion, but nothing replaces it, so that ^{p⁴⁶**} meant to read: 'The voice the earth shook then.'

But hold. Note that εἰ is most ancient Greek (Doric) for οὗ! Is that the secret? Then, already *saḥ* was misled from a similar MS into confusing εἰ for οὗ. It begins definitely εϣϣε. Compare Hebr. iii 11, iv 3, 5, and Ps. xcv 11, and see p. 71.

x 1 σκιαν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νομος τῶν μελλόντων αγαθῶν/ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων καθ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις (+ as**) προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές' οὐδεποτέ δυναταὶ (sic) τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι'

Thus writes ^{p⁴⁶}, substituting καὶ τὴν for οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν, but it looks *optime* to me, and an earlier reading than the usual one. It signifies: 'A shadow . . . and the semblance of . . .', instead of: 'A shadow . . . and not the very image of . . .', for at ch. viii 5 it runs just that way: οἰτίνες ὑποδειγματὶ καὶ σκία λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων.

[Note. Scrivener's m (37) reads οὐ κατὰ. This is the famous Leicester codex (Ev. 69 *etc.*) numbered by *Soden*^{δ⁵⁰⁵} and quoted here].

xi 35 τὴν ἀπολυσιν *pro* τὴν ἀπολυτρωσιν ^{p⁴⁶} (with τρω above the line). Compare xi 25 ἀπολαυσιν.

The difference is really grave, for ἀπολυτρωσις means a ransom,

a deliverance by ransom, while ἀπολυσιν means an ordinary release. We could pass it by, but the famous Claromontanus declares that it did not read ἀπολυτρωσιν here, but ἀπολαυσιν, because, as against the other Latin rendering of: *non suscipientes redemptionem*, *d* has: *non expectantes DELICIAS* (*vult* 'delicias'), and *e* leaves a blank, having: *expectantes ut*. Ambrose must have known this reading, for he said in one place: *non expectabant delicias illecebras*, although in another he quotes in the regular way. So much for ἀπολαυσιν ('enjoyment' or 'enjoyments'). As to the ἀπολυσιν of *P⁴⁶*, note carefully that *syr* says: 'they hoped not for escape' (= *P⁴⁶*), and *aeth* 1/2: 'they wished not for deliverance'; while *boh* has: 'they accepted not the redemption', and *sah*: 'they accepted not the redemption of their body', and *aeth* 1/2: 'they accepted not the redemption of their soul'.

xii 1 τοιγαρ for τοιγαρων. Quite legitimate, but not, so far, recorded for others. The Latins have *ideoque* (some *vgg.*, I think, have *ideo*), but the *Sahidic* omits this ουν, as doubtless *syr*.

ibid. νεφος μαρτυρων ογκων (*pro* ογκον) αποθεμενοι παντα και την . . .

Compare '*omnia pondera*' (plural) in *syr*; and also the notes in Matthaei and Tischendorf, where Matthaei quotes *Chr^{codd}* for omission of ογκον, and in the *com.* ογκον is applied to μαρτυρων, thus: ποιον νεφος; μαρτύρων ὄγκον. Tischendorf reports *cat²⁵⁹* for: ἡμῖν νεφος, μαρτύρων ὄγκον, τούτεστι τὸν τῶν τοσούτων μαρτυριῶν ὄγκον, ἀποθέμενοι πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἀμαρτίαν.

Thus, between the Papyrus, the Syriac, and the above, we get an explanation of ογκων as applied to μαρτυρων; perhaps it is meant for ογκωτων in its true adjectival form, *i.e.* 'heaped-up witnesses', referring to the long record in the previous chapter.

Again we seem to get a glance into the hintergrund of it all, for possibly the author intended ὄγκων to be an adjective in the genitive plural. As it stands in the common text, the sentence is not very literary, although possible Egyptian-wise, in separating πάντα as an accusative masculine singular from ὄγκον ('ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα'), whereas, if πάντα is neuter plural, it stands in its right place 'on its own'.

[ὄγκος occurs only here this once in Hebrews, but it is frequent in *Clem^{alex}*. ἐπέρογκος occurs in 2 Peter ii 18 and Jude 16].

ibid. ευπερισπαστον by *P⁴⁶* alone for ευπεριστατον. A very different thing. If ευπερισπαστον be original, it would mean: 'the sin which is so easily abrogated', or 'which it is so important to abandon', instead of: 'the sin which doth so easily beset us'.

Now, *d e* seem to read 'fragile peccatum' (I do not know whether

D^{gr} has any special reading). Neither Tischendorf nor von Soden have anything on this in their notes. *Aeth* has: 'conturbationem peccati', but *sy*r indicates that it derived its reading from *ευπεριστατον*. [*απεριστατον Compl^{gr} solus*].

Therefore, only *d e*, with their exceedingly happy '*fragile*', have produced an expression which deconflates the two readings and makes them into one! [*Arm* goes to the other extreme, and has '*urgent*'!].

Thereagainst, the English Revisers' margin is singularly unhappy with its suggestion of: 'or, is admired of many', for, in the light of the previous magnificent chapter xi, the initial *Τοιγαρ* or *Τοιγαρουν* of ch. xii is noteworthy, and rules out such a marginal insinuation.

ibid. *τρεχομεν* or *τρεχωμεν* is uncertain, there being a mutilation after *τρε*

ibid. *το προκειμενον (pro τον προκειμενον)*. It is not necessary to put this down as an error, as the footnote suggests. This presupposes that the usual masculine accusative *αγωνα* follows, but at the bottom of this page all is missing after *η [μιν . . .*

What if *εν δρωνι* or *εις δρωνα* followed, for *δρωνα*? This is actually the reading of *boh* and of *arm*. (The Latins use a neuter: 'certamen'). *Boh* has it thus: 'Let us run *in the race* which is set down for us.' The *Syriac* also modifies the order. The A.V. says: 'unto the race', as the previous English Versions, but not R.V.

Instead of *αγωνα* at the beginning of the next line (as printed in the text of *P¹⁶* within the usual square bracket), I notice that there is too much room in the line above for *ημιν* only. The line will take easily two, three, or four letters more than *ημιν*, so there is no difficulty in contemplating *εν* or *εν τω* or *εις* after *ημιν*. There is also the alternative neuter synonym: *διωγμα*, but it is perhaps doubtful whether *διωγμα*—(rather apposite here, 'the chase' or 'a pursuit-race')—is used with *τρέχω*, and, as both Coptics transliterate *αγων*, it is more probable that this word was used. In *sah* it is *ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲛ*, *boh* *ⲕⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲱⲛ*. In both cases the final *α* of the Greek masculine accusative does not show. Did this lead the scribe of *P¹⁶* to consider *αγων* as neuter? His genders are sometimes questionable according to our standards, but we must not neglect the *Bohairic* and *Armenian* readings. Our Greek materials are scanty enough. [*h^{scr}* omits the article *τον* before *προκειμενον*].

xii 14/15 The papyrus has here:

ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΑΣΜΟΝ' ὅγ' χωρὶς οὐδ(ε)ι(c) οὐεται
 κ̅ς ἐπισκοποῦντας' μὴ τις ὑστερῶν

Therefore, we have *οὐδει* by first hand, possibly *οὐδεν*, (with sigma squeezed in), *κύριος* for *τον κύριον*, and *ἐπισκοποῦντας* for . . . *τες*. A

strange situation. The rough breathing over $\sigma\delta$ and the marks of pause or $\sigma\tau\chi\omicron\iota$ appear to be by a correcting hand.

I think, perhaps, Horner has put his finger on the origin of this, by retranslating *ver. 14 fin.* of the *Syriac* for us, as: 'our Lord seeth not', and the *aeth^{ro}* as: 'God there is not (any) who saw (him)', giving us the nominative, which has been obscured by the other translators of these Versions.

At the beginning of verse 15 we can spare $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ altogether, without much loss, but $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (which the Diorthotes tacks on to *ver. 14 fin.*), presents a difficulty. Observe that the papyrus does not say $\delta\ \kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ without the article.

As to 14/15, there must have been some questioning, for in the Arabic version occurs '*Finis*' after: 'sine qua nemo Dominum videbit' and before: 'Prospicientes'. At 15 *init. d.* has 'Providentes' for 'Contemplantes'—[*e* ceased definitely at xii 8]—and the *syriac*, *arm*, and *aeth*: '(Et) estote cauti'.

[Scrivener's m has $\sigma\delta$ for $\sigma\delta$].

I rehearse this merely to shew and to emphasize that throughout this ancient document there are traces of a very different original draft from the stereotyped one which has reached us, and, with patience, we may be able to unravel what was the original meaning and teaching of the Epistle, written by a hand which is still unknown to us.

After all, our Anglo-Jewish-Christian attitude has been founded on and moulded by this letter to the Hebrews, and it should be of paramount importance to get at the original, unvarnished, unaccommodated, straightforward narrative, before its details were obscured or its meanings enlarged, in order to over-emphasize certain doctrinaire features.

How slow have been our critical methods, and how dull our acumen! And all because we have been so fond of labels and of labelling things, not entering fully enough into *the spirit* of matters which governed in the second and in the beginning of the third century. But gradually we have been working to a point where we can find and take up the threads of the web which was spun by the early compilers, editors, critics, and transcribers. The Semitic background is coming more clearly into view all the time—especially as shewn by Prof. Wensinck in *Bezan Bulletin* No. 12 (for Dec. 1937)—and the Greek reworking and the Version accommodation began all too early for our profit.

But we shall be quite unworthy of having stumbled upon such unexpected finds as this Papyrus⁴⁶, if we let prejudice or snap-judgements interfere with good, cool, critical methods; and if we refuse to take advantage of the many clues and leads which it offers for our consideration, that is to say, before 'shop-rules' in *Scriptoria* began to

standardize the attempted improvements, and so gave us a debased mintage.

xii 17 **καίτοι** *pro* **καίπερ** **ϑ⁴⁶** alone (et quamquam *d*). Once again we are introduced behind the scenes to a background, independent of our known authorities, for the Sahidic transliterates **καίπερ** exactly. *Boh*, however, has **κετοι** (all MSS but one; that one alone has **κεπερ**). Only *d* of the Latins has *et* before *quamquam*. Where did the Bohairic get **κετοι**, if that Version followed so long after the Sahidic? All other Greeks but our Papyrus exhibit **καίπερ** without any variation. Not a single cursive known to Tischendorf, Scrivener, Matthaei, or von Soden exhibits **καίτοι**. And yet *boh* had it. Curious and noteworthy! Spain has a proverb: *Donde no se piensa, salta la liebre!*

xiii 15 — **οὐν** **ϑ⁴⁶** with **Ν* D* PΨ** *d boh*^{DFK} † *arab* (*syr* has **και** *init.*).

ibid. **θυσιαν** *pro* **θυσιαν** **ϑ⁴⁶**, with *d* (*hostias, contra* D^{gr} **θυσιαν**) and also all these: *sah boh syr aeth* 1/2 *arm*^{codd}, but against the other Greeks and Latins. Neither *Tisch* nor *Soden* have a word on this, as no Greeks have been recorded for it hitherto, not even one cursive among all Scrivener's and Matthaei's collations, but **ϑ⁴⁶** now validates the Versions here, which therefore did not originate the plural. It also validates the emphasis placed upon certain Version testimony by me here (and elsewhere), which, hitherto, has been dismissed as purely secondary. **ϑ⁴⁶** has **τε** for **δε** in the next verse, omitted from the notes.

xiii 16 + **της** *ante* **κοινωνίας** **ϑ⁴⁶**, with D 73 only, according to *Tisch*. *Soden* adds ^{a 264} (Escorial) and ^{a 158} (Sinai). *Horner* exhibits this for *sah*, and *boh* (see the *boh* volume) definitely, but this Version support is not mentioned by *Tisch* nor by *Soden*. However, it is important now to group our evidences, for the procedure reveals a very weak line of continuity among our junior Greek documents. And also because the above **της κοινωνίας** constitutes the 'longer' text here, it merits additional attention, and is a nice touch—'the communion' of saints. Our A.V. and R.V. obliterate the nouns **εὐποιία** and **κοινωνία** by rendering both expressions as verbs: 'to do good and to communicate'. Not so the Latins, nor the Coptics ('But the benevolence plus the sharing with others'), nor indeed Wiclif: 'and nyle ghe forghete wel doyng and comynge', but the German falls back upon a verbal effect, with: 'Wohl zu thun und mitzuthellen vergesset nicht.'

† *Horner* in his *sah* volume omits to record *boh*^{DFK} and the Greek uncials here for — **οὐν**. I add *arab*, and the importance lies in its possible connexion with D, F, or K of *boh*. Compare other *boh* readings farther on, and note xii 28, and also xiii 9 as to *boh*^{DFK} again.

We now proceed in regular order. 'Χεῖρ χεῖρα νίπτει, δάκτυλός τε δάκτυλον':

i 2 — και *post* δι οὗ **p**⁴⁶. Thus also *sah*^{p1} *arab* and *aeth*, but no Greeks or Latins.

i 3 δυναμειως *absque* αυτου **p**⁴⁶. Thus also M 67^{**}. No Versions. ΔΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ (*sic*) then follows ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ and precedes ΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΝ, as in D 137 *Thdt*.

i 4 init. τοσουτων *pro* τοσούτω **p**⁴⁶ with P. Perhaps meant for τοσουτον with 73, 109 *Apost*¹⁷ *Ath*^{codd}.

ibid. — των *ante* αγγελων **p**⁴⁶ with B *Clem*^{rom} alone. (*Not Hort*).

[Without των before αγγελων (there having been no previous mention of angels) τοσουτων could, however, stand and apply to angels].

i 8 fin. αυτου *pro* σου with **NB** only and *Hort*^{txt}. No cursives, no versions, and against *Tertullian* (extant here) and the LXX (Ps. xlv 7).

(*Aeth* and *arab* [*non boh*] both write: και η ραβδος της βασιλειας σου ραβδος της ευθυτητος, altering the order).

ii 7 Omit και κατεστησας αυτον επι τα εργα των χειρων σου with B and others. Apparently brought in later from Ps. viii 7.

ii 8 εν γαρ τω υποταξαι (— αυτω *pr.*) ουδεν αυτω αφηκεν ανυποτακτον (*sic*) **p**⁴⁶ (— τα παντα *primo loco*).

— αυτω *pr.* agrees only with B *d e arm boh*^P [*non cett, non sah*].

— τα παντα *pr.* has no following except in *aeth* 1/2, but the order of εν γαρ τω is supported by most (against εν τω γαρ of only **NBDEMΨ** 23 *Soa*⁷⁸).

ibid. παντα (*pro* τα παντα *secund.*) **p**⁴⁶ alone among the Greeks.

ii 9 The footnotes are silent about χαριτι/χωρις, but this forms the subject of Hort's first note on Selected Readings, and we should observe that the papyrus has straightforwardly οπως χαριτι θ̅Υ, and knows nothing of the χωρις θεου of M 67^{**} and the Nestorians. *Soden* cites ο12^c for this (I suppose it equates 67^{**}) and Origen, Theodoret and Ambrose, but does not cite *Hier*^{Gal}, quoted by *Sab* and *Hort*, for Jerome also knew of this reading. As to Theodore^{Mops}, see the long quotation in Tischendorf.

iii 2 — ολω **p**⁴⁶ with **p**¹³ B only and both Coptics, with *Cyr Ambr*^{fid}. [All others, with *syr aeth*, have it].

iii 6 ος οικος μεν ημεις (*pro* οὗ οικος εσμεν ημεις) **p**^{46*}. Very rough (but compare *syr*) and with D^{*M} *d e f vg aeth* 1/2 *Lucif Ambr*. (I^{scr} has μεν).

ibid. — μεχρι τελους βεβαιων with B and **p**¹³ (*sah aeth* 1/2 *Lucif*

Ambr¹⁰⁵). This omission by our oldest Greek witnesses, in triple concord, certainly does not look like a dropping of the words *ex incuria*, but like an addition from iii 14 by others upon revision.

iii 18	απιστησασιν	<i>Solus</i>	} Seem to be preferential all through, for απειθησασιν, απειθειαν, απειθειας.
iv 6	απιστιαν	<i>cum N (vg Cyr)</i>	
iv 11	απιστίας	<i>Solus</i>	

iv 3 εις καταπαυσιν (—την) *primo loco* with BD^p¹³ only. ('Into his place of rest' *sah aeth*).

iv 4 —γαρ ^p¹³ 109^{lat} *aeth* and probably ^p⁴⁶. ('As he said' *syr*). ^p¹³ is helpful here and must be brought into the picture, as below at xi 4 in a similar case. Compare also vii 11, x 26, xii 10, xiii 11.

iv 6 εισελθειν αυτην (—εις) ^p⁴⁶ alone. (c^{Scr} and *aeth* 1/2 omit εις αυτην).

iv 7 —ημεραν ^p⁴⁶ alone apparently. [*καιρον pro ημεραν Ψ, —σημερον pr. syr*].

This is really interesting. The majority of our witnesses have both *ημεραν* and *σημερον*. With *ημεραν* present, a kind of hendiadys is set up, as in the German 'heut' zu tage' (compare Ezek. xx 29 *εως της σημερον ημερας*, 'Until to-day's to-day'), whereas *ημεραν* may easily have been added, in a misguided attempt to round off the sentence. The clause is:

παλιν τινα οριζει [*ημεραν*]: *σημερον εν Δαυειδ λεγων . . .*,

but the idea is not of a certain *day* of 24 hours, but of a certain thing, person, epoch, or *time*. Thus, we see Ψ treat the matter as *τινα καιρον* ('τινα οριζει καιρον', I suppose). I do not know whether this is straightforward, or whether *τινα* stood alone originally in Ψ, as in ^p⁴⁶, and *καιρον* was added. (Von Soden is the only person who handled his agent's actual collation of Ψ, which does not exist separately in print).

The fact that *τινα precedes οριζει* (A.V. 'he limiteth', R.V. 'he defineth'), and does not come after the verb, will admit, with ^p⁴⁶, of no definite substantive of time following; so much so, that *N** and *Cyr* exhibit a reversal of order, and write: *οριζει τινα ημεραν*, thinking to improve matters.

ibid. —σημερον *secund.* ^p⁴⁶ and (apparently) *Sod*^{tres}.

v 1 —τα (*ante προς τον θεον*) ^p⁴⁶ alone with *Sod*^δ¹⁵⁷, but compare *sah boh aeth*.

ibid. —τε with BD^b *vid* only (nor do the Versions express it).

ibid. περι αμαρτιων (*pro υπερ αμαρτιων*) ^p⁴⁶ alone (as others in verse 3). [But it has *υπερ αμαρτιων* at x 12].

v 3 προσφερει *pro προσφερειν* alone; but it is interesting, and not

a mere error of P^{46} , for *aeth* exhibits it. The reason is, no doubt, that *προσφέρειν* originally stood directly after *οφείλει*, and later in the sentence *προσφέρει* obtained, instead of an infinitive. For this see *sah* and *boh*. *Sah* is old enough to proclaim that P^{46} perhaps dropped the *προσφέρειν* after *οφείλει* by mistake—(the two *προσφ.* would come one beneath the other in an original similar to the lines in P^{46})—and failed to notice it when he came to *προσφέρει*, and that the sentence was amended after his time. At any rate, *οφείλει* is and always must have been remarkable for standing alone, so far from *προσφέρειν*, the ninth word after. I may as well give the Aethiopic, to shew how it was handled there in the translation: ‘Et propter hoc, aequum est, sicut pro populo, ita et pro se ipso (ut) offerat pro peccatis.’

And I will give *sah* and *boh* in full, where *προσφ.* occurs twice, very notably (underlined).

Sah: ἀγὼ ἐτήκνῃτῃ ὤψῃ ἐροῦ κατὰ θεὸν ἐτεσφατάλο ἐρᾶν γὰρ πᾶλος πῆτάλο ζωῶν γάρου ἵτερε γὰρ περποθε.

This means:

‘And because of it, it is incumbent on him, according as *he is wont to offer* (‘présent d’habitude’) for the people, *that he should offer* also for himself thus for his sins.’

Boh: οὐτος εὐθὺς σεμπνῶ παρὸς κατὰ φῆνῃ ἐσφατῇ ἐρῇ ἐξεν παπῖλαος παρῇν γάρ ἵτερε ἐξεν περποθὶ ἄμιν ἄμιν.

This means:

‘And because of it it is meet for him, according as *he offereth* for the things of the people, thus also *he should offer* for his sins, his own.’

[The last two words in *boh*, occurring also in *sah* 1/4, mean *καὶ γε αὐτοῦ*, ‘verily his’, very emphatic].

P^{46} has a pause after *λαοῦ*. That may have misled the scribe, but *aeth* and *sah* vividly proclaim that our ordinary text is not quite that which started on its way down the ages.

v 6 σὺ εἰ (*pro* σὺ) P^{46} with P 23 47 73 *al. pauc. latt et copt.*

v 10 + σὺ εἰ *ante* ἀρχιερεὺς P^{46} alone. Seemingly no other authority here (cp. vii 17, 21).

v 11 —ὁ *ante* λόγος P^{46*} . So D*P *arm.*

v 12 —τα *ante* στοιχεῖα P^{46} alone. Added no doubt to the primary text on revision, unless τα was omitted here from propinquity of the *τινα* preceding.

ibid. οὐ στερεὰς with \aleph B² vel ³ C 17 *Sod*⁷⁸ 162 180 *f vg sah boh*^{pl} *Orig* 5/7 *Chr*^{codd} *Euthal* *Cyr Aug* (against *καὶ οὐ στερεὰς* of the rest with *d e syr arm aeth boh*⁴ *Clem Chr*^{ed} *Thdt Dam Antioch*).

vi 1 ἐπὶ τὴν θεμελιότητα φερωμεθα *pro* ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερωμεθα [A.V.: 'let us go on unto perfection', R.V.: 'and press on unto full growth' (*marg.*)]. This θεμελιότητα of P^{46} may be an error from the propinquity of θεμελιον, and does not seem possible language, unless the scribe thought it meant "let us 'carry on' upon this foundation". Anyhow, it has never been repeated, but *aeth^{ro}* omits the clause, and that document often baulks when confronted with a difficulty.

vi 2 διδαχὴν (*pro* διδαχῆς) P^{46} with B only of Greeks, but *d*: doctrinam (*e*: doctrina) and compare *arm aeth*; also *syr*: et ad doctrinam baptismi. (βαπτισμον *Dgr*).

vi 4 γευσάμενους *absque* τε P^{45} without apparent other known Greek support, but upheld by *sah boh*, and *arm* (: 'who tasted'), against the rest with *syr* and *Tert*.

vi 5 γευσάμενους θεοῦ ρηματος δυναμὶς τε *pro* γευσάμενους θεοῦ ρημα δυναμεις τε . . .

Here the Editor's note says: 'ρηματος *per errorem pro* ρημα', but why? γεύω and γεύομαι are generally used with the genitive, and in the previous verse this obtains: 'γευσάμενους (τε) τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου'. Καλον† is a Homeric and classical adverb for καλως, and doubtless the writer of this passage in Hebrews used Καὶ καλον (which words precede γευσάμενους here) adverbially, maintaining the genitive ρηματος and not making ρημα agree with καλον. Thus, instead of: 'and have tasted the good word of God', the writer must mean: 'and have well tasted of God's word'. But there is a difficulty; for, instead of a genitive δυναμεων following, all MSS have δυναμεις τε μελλοντος αιωνος (P^{46} has δυναμὶς τε as *sah 1/7 boh¹ syr aeth*) with a nominative for 'powers'. This is a serious difficulty, although, I suppose, such a rapid transition is possible. Anyhow, the matter was partially smoothed out later. Yet *Tertullian* (who attributes to Barnabas this Epistle) says: '*occidente jam aevo*' (quoting the verse in full), which leads Tischendorf to suggest for the Greek: δυναι ἐπὶ μελλοντος αιωνος in *Tertullian's* copy. The Latins use an accusative throughout after *gusto*, and in a bilingual the matter could get mixed up. I submit this at some length, because we are seeing behind things in our papyrus, and, however indistinctly, the whole matter hangs together as to faint places, with attempts to improve and smooth out, *etc.*, and this may be one of them. There seems to be no authority for δυναμεως or δυναμεων. Revisers, seeing the difficulty, have taken καλον to be an adjective and forced it into agreement with ρημα, so that ρημα and δυναμεις τε go together in the accusative in our texts; but in the previous verse we were tasting *of* the heavenly gift

† Compare περισσότερον *Hebr.* vi 17, where B alone varies with περισσότερως.

and *of* a spirit holy, and we have to account for *γείω* taking the genitive in verse 4 and the accusative in verse 5. Then, when *δυναμεις* was established, perhaps by itacism, it went into the nominative singular: *δυναμς* in *P⁴⁶* and a few others (*sah³⁵ boh¹ syr aeth¹*). [Kenyon does not record *δυναμς* in his notes]. All this probably turns on an old faint place or on the propinquity of the genitive absolute: *μελλοντος αιωνος*.

Perhaps the solution is as simple as in a number of other such cases, involving a sudden but not unliterary interruption of the running construction, in favour of a transition to the nominative—what I have characterized in other writings as the *videlicet* method. Here anacoluthon could obtain thus: ‘. . . and enjoyably tasting of God’s word, *viz.* (the) power of the coming age’.

Many such interrupted constructions, in the Semitic manner, are admirably illustrated in Burkitt’s translation of the Old Syriac Gospels, where this method is well indicated by a long dash in his English text.

vi 6 *ΑΝΑΤΡΕCΕCΕCΙ* *pro* *ανασταυρουντας* *P⁴⁶* alone (but *παραδειγματιζοντας* subsequently, where D has . . . *τες*). *Boh¹* has: ‘they fell . . . crucifying . . .’ Compare the Latins here.

vi 7 The Editor says of *δι ος* for *δι ους* (*post* *εκεινοις*) ‘*per errorem*’ again. Of course it is a Greek error. But may this not be referred to a bilingual? For *f vg* say: a quibus, and *vett Tert*: his, propter quos. Greek error, if you will, but giving some hint as to how it came about, for the Versions hesitate in their translations of the passage and both Aethiopics evade the Greek construction.

vi 9 fin. *P⁴⁶* alone has *ελαβομεν* here for *λαλουμεν*, yet no corrector has interfered with it. [The *sah* and *boh* express *λαλουμεν*: ‘but if we make (*or*, take) even the word thus’]. Cp. ii 2, iv 16, v 1, vii 5, 8, 9, *etc.*

vi 11 —δε, and *δεικνυσθαι* for *ενδεικνυσθαι*. *P⁴⁶* thus, but without support. [The Latins use *ostendare*]. As to uncompound words, note at viii 10 *γραφω pro* *επιγραφω* of *P⁴⁶* with B and Ψ there.

vi 16 A matter of order: *αντιλογιας αυτοις* with D, for *αυτοις αντιλογιας* of the rest. Compare *syr* and *lat*.

vi 17 Again, order: *ο θεος βουλομενος* (for *βουλομενος ο θεος*) with DE *latt vett* [*non vg*] *copt*.

Evidently the earliest drafts were bilingual, as in all the other books of the N.T. So, in vii 1 *Μελχισεδεκ* in *P⁴⁶* lacks the article, but, same verse, *P⁴⁶* first hand (corrected) adds *τω* before *Αβρααμ* (alone). This *ουτος γαρ Μελχισεδεκ* of *P⁴⁶* is expressed exactly as in *sah boh*: ‘For this Melkhisedek’ (and, of course, the Latins). For the +*τω* before

Αβρααμ Tisch gives no support, but Soden says H^s (= P) has it also. Sah has: '(who met) εαβρααμ', but boh: '(who met out) εερεν αβρααμ'.

vii 2 απο παντος pro απο παντων P⁴⁶ with B only. [Horner's notes neglect this].

ibid. + αυτω ante εμερισεν P⁴⁶ alone; a 'roughness' (or a syriasm) since removed, if ω belongs at the end of the previous line (mutilated). Compare *syr aeth.* [αυτω pro Αβρααμ D* (eum d)].

ibid. — δε και P⁴⁶ with 49 d e *Vigil Auct*^{quaest.} (A few omit και, and cd^{scr} with Thdt omit δε, but the rest have δε και). Sah^{Morg} omits δε και and D^{scr} is not recorded for this.

vii 4 ω (— και) P⁴⁶ with BD*E* d e fu tol boh sah basm aeth (syr).

vii 5 αποδεκατον (pro . . . τουν) with B^{1 et 3} D only.

vii 7 Kenyon indicates at χωρις δε an addition in the margin, but this is not apparent in the photo. We may remark, however, that *aeth* (alone) amplifies to: *Et notum est insuper* before: 'sine controversia majorem benedicere minori'.

vii 11 — γαρ P⁴⁶. Refer to iv. 4 above, x. 26, xii 10, xiii 11 below.

[**vii 12** P⁴⁶ has και νομου, which B (alone) omits].

vii 12 fin. μεταθεσιν γεινεσθαι pro μεταθεσις γινεται, P⁴⁶ alone, but almost exactly the method of sah boh.

N.B. The above section about Melchisedek, Abraham, the priesthood and the tithes is a rather involved matter. I have not recorded Hebr. vii 8 and 9, where, in both verses P⁴⁶ writes δεκαδας for δεκατας. It is either an error, or, in the original draft there may have been a play as between these two words, meaning decads (of men) and tithes (of things). Or, it may again reveal an Egyptian background, for δ and τ are readily exchangeable in Coptic.

vii 13 μετεσχεν . . . προσεσχεν P⁴⁶ (for μετεσχηκεν . . . προσεσχηκεν).

vii 14 εκ Ιουδα (pro εξ Ιουδα) P⁴⁶, but no article.

ibid. Order: περι ιερων μωυσης ουδεν with N* only and arm,

for: περι ιερων ουδεν μωυσης,

or: ουδεν περι ιερων μωυσης,

or: ουδεν περι ιερωσυνης μωυσης,

but sah boh have: 'Moses spake nothing concerning priest out of it.' ('Priesthood' is used by *aeth*).

vii 16 init. — ος (ante ου). The notes say 'Ante ου, ος om. per errorem'. This ος follows ετερος and can have been as easily reduplicated subsequently as omitted originally; the sense remains the same.

vii 17 +ει *post* ου **P**⁴⁶. The 'longer' text. This ει is found in D^cE²KP *al*^o *d e f vg sah boh basm aeth* and *syrr* (cp. v 6, v 10, vii 21).

vii 18 —μεν **P**⁴⁶. The 'shorter' text, with o^{Scr}, *d sah* [*non boh*] *arm syr*.

vii 19 *init.* ου *pro* ουδεν **P**⁴⁶ apparently alone. (The Coptics have: 'not anything').

vii 21 —δε **P**⁴⁶ apparently alone with *boh*^B (οι δε o^{Scr}, as *syr*).

ibid. ου ει (*pro* ου) with D^cE²KP *minn aliq* (*et* 244 *vide Scr. Adv. Crit.* p. lxxxi) *Sod*⁷⁸ *al latt syr sah boh aeth arab et Eus* 1/2.

ibid. —κατα την ταξιν Μελχ. with N^{*}BC 17 80 *f r vgg*^{codd} *sah basm boh* 1/2 *arm Euthal Amb* (against all the rest and Ψ *Sod*⁷⁸ *d e syr aeth boh* 1/2 *Orig Eus Chr Chron Dam*).

vii 25 οθεν σωζει *pro* οθεν και σωζειν **P**⁴⁶ alone. No others. (—και *boh*). But as δυναται follows later, σωζει is doubtless an error here, whatever the original reading may have been.

vii 26 και επρεπεν with ABDE *Sod*⁷⁸ *syr arm*^{ed} *Eus*, and against all the rest (—και), the cursives, the versions, *arm*^{codd} and *d e* (against D^{gr}) *Bas Chr Euthal Thdt*.

vii 27 αναφερειν *absque* θυσιας *vel* θυσιαν *omnino*. Thus **P**⁴⁶ together with *f*. [Its Greek counterpart F is missing throughout, but *f* is quite clear for: 'pro suis delictis offerre * deinde pro populo']. Tisch adds *Lect*⁴ for omission. Now *Apost*⁴ is at Florence (Laur. Conv. Soppreschi 24) saec. xi, but Gregory says: Scholz ex errore bis [*ter*?] numeravit 4 et 48 [*et* 43?]; Griesbach in Paul *Apost*⁴ est *Apl*⁶.

Paul⁴ is at Basle (Univ. A.N. iv. 5, Philemon, Hebrews); could this be meant?

Soden gives θυσιας text, θυσιαν in notes, but no hint of omission. Of what use, then, all this presumed re-examination of documents, if these ambiguities are not removed?

Compare Hebr. v. 3 (without θυσιας, all), and ix 25 farther on.

ibid. απαξ *pro* εφ'απαξ **P**⁴⁶ apparently alone among Greeks. The Latins are content with *semel* everywhere (except 1 Cor. xv 6: *simul*).

vii 28 καθιστησιν αρχιερεις ανθρωπους with D^c only, while D^{*} *d e* have this order, but with ιερεις. No others. That is to say: 'the law appointeth priests *as* men', instead of: 'men *as* priests'. The Versions, with the other Greeks, are against this, all bringing in ανθρωπους first. Yet there is much to be said for the order in **P**⁴⁶ D *d e*, because of the εχοντας ασθeneian, which thus follows ανθρωπους and not ιερεις.

viii 1/2 των αγων' λειτουργος + γαρ **P**⁴⁶, continuing και της σκηνης.

Here the papyrus has added των αγων, the first words of verse 2, to

the end of verse 1, as indicated by the dash. The Coptics know nothing of this, nor of +*γαρ* before *και* in verse 2. The Syriac alone knows of and adds a *και init.*, for it says: 'Et fuit minister sanctuarii et tabernaculi illius veri, quod fixit Deus, et non homo', faithfully reproducing the second *και*, but adding one at the beginning.

viii 2 fin. *ουκ ανθρωπος* (*ανθρωποις* by first hand)† *absque και* **P⁴⁶** with **SBD*E*** 17 *Sod⁵⁶ et 78* *de sah* (Horner, p. 569) *arab Chr^{cat} Eus* 2/3, but against the rest with +*και* as *f vg arm aeth* and (in this case) ‡ *boh^{omn}* and *basm*, as well as *Chr Euthal Cyr Thdt Chron Dam* together with *syr*. [*N.B.* The Polyglot^{int} of *syr* leaves out the *et*, but by mistake].

viii 4 —*τον ante νομον* with **S*AB** 17 57 80 *al⁵ Thdt* ('*κατα νομον*'), against all other Greeks and the Coptics.

[But at ix 19 **P⁴⁶** has *κατα τον νομον*].

viii 5 *κεχηρηματισται μωυση* (*pro κεχηρηματισται μωυσης*). So **P⁴⁶**. Kenyon, in his notes, says '*per errorem*', because he found no Greeks recorded for it, but the Latins and every single other Version use the dative! Our English translators (A.V. and R.V.) use the nominative, but they never have rendered *χηρηματιζω* properly, and here they flounder again. The text means: 'As it was oracularly communicated to Moses, when he was about to undertake and complete (*ἐπιτελεῖν*) the tabernacle.' Wiclif had it fairly: 'As it was answered to Moises, whanne he schulde ende the tabernacle.' Soden garbles the matter by printing *Μωυσης* in his text, and then giving a list of Greeks who write *Μωυσης*, to which he tacks on gratuitously the Latin Vulgate—(but the Latins say: '*responsum est Moysi*')—and he in no wise indicates a change of case in all the Versions.

By always rendering *χηρημ.* as '*admonished of God*' the English versions have obscured the true meaning of the word. Thus here, they say: 'as Moses was admonished of God' (although *Μωυσης* follows *κεχηρημάτισται*), whereas it is: 'as was divinely communicated to Moses'. **P⁴⁶** now declares that *ΜΩΥΧΗ* (and not *ΜΩΥΧΗΣ*) is correct, notwithstanding the other Greeks. My point is that, unless you find out first whether **P⁴⁶** is a chronic bungler, *or not*, you cannot assess such a place as this at anything like its true value. §

† Curiously enough, Schaaf's edition of the Syriac seems to have the plural points.

‡ Compare Col. iii 23 and Hebr. xi 23.

§ Benoit's review in *Revue Biblique* (Jan. 1937) also errs upon the side of misinterpretation of the problem by over-emphasis upon the little errors here and there to be found in **P⁴⁶**, and in not always giving to the real helpful variants their due; except on p. 72, when dealing with B and **P⁴⁶**, where he acknowledges the

ibid. — ποιησεις p^{46} . No others known. The Latins render ποιησεις: facito (but *d e facis*). The reference is to Ex. xxv 40 and xxvi 30. Tisch only gives the former in his margin, but adds Acts vii 44, a passage in Stephen's long speech. In the wording of this, notice ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωυσῇ.

viii 8 — ἰδου ημεραι ερχονται λεγει p^{46} alone. This is classed as an error from homoioteleuton, but there is a space in the Papyrus between λεγει $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ and και (συντελεσω) . . . , and it would therefore seem that the exemplar from which it was reproduced also lacked the words. The Septuagint (Jerem. 38³¹ = the Hebrew numeration 31³¹) has the words, but writes: διαθησομαι τω οικω for συντελεσω επι τον οικον, so that the N.T. quotation may be memorial and, as originally set down, perhaps lacked the words missing in p^{46} . As the Papyrus is mutilated after και, we do not know whether to read συντελεσω or another word.

viii 9 init. + και p^{46} . Only *aeth* seems to support.

ibid. — εν sec. ante τη διαθηκη with *Sod*^{a 1066} (= old 71) *Sod*^{a 55} (Escorial)^{a 253} (Bâle) and *Matthaei* a (= old P. 113).

(την διαθηκην pro εν τη διαθηκη *h*^{Scr} = old P. 104).

[Not recorded by Tischendorf at all].

viii 10 γραψω (pro επιγραψω) with B Ψ only. No cursives. [The Latins all have *superscribam*. *Syr*^{int} *aeth*^{int} = inscribam, but Syriac has no compounds]. *Hiat* p^{13} .

viii 11 διδαξη p^{46} for διδαξωσιν or διδαξουσιν of the rest. It is a question of εκαστος τον πολιτην αυτου και εκαστος τον αδελφον αυτου, but as διδαξη precedes the first εκαστος, the Papyrus would seem to have exercised the proper choice of the number to use here. Sabatier prints *docebit* for his 'Vulgata Nova', I suppose on the strength of the Paris *vett* (and *f* so reads), but Tischendorf records nothing, nor von Soden. Strange for all our known Greeks to use the plural, because *sah boh syr* seem to use the singular!

[p^{46} alone has ετερος . . . εκαστος for εκαστος . . . εκαστος].

ibid. — αυτου *secund.*^{vid} with D*E 46 (= *Sod*^{a 101}) *Sod*^{a 174} (Berlin) and *d e*.

[*Hiat* Ψ viii 11 *init.* usque ad ix 19 υπο μυνσεως].

viii 12 Omit οτι ιλεως εσομαι ταις αδικαιαις αυτων p^{46} . So Scrivener's

helpfulness of the Papyrus in the premises, and on p. 71, where he criticizes, somewhat severely, the misdemeanours of B, which, he says, occurred as: 'des corrections personnelles et qu'il faut rejeter'; 'pour remédier à l'apparente tautologie'; 'lapsus que le contexte montre inacceptable'; 'pour éviter de mettre ces mots gênants dans la bouche de St. Paul'; 'retouche explicative qui ne peut être originale'.

'm', which has escaped Kenyon's and von Soden's notice; it is old 37, duly recorded, however, by Tischendorf. The Papyrus is also without *καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν*, having merely:

καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀγτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἐτι.

The Papyrus flows smoothly, and the facsimile edition shows no additions, corrections, or marks of any kind. Compare Hebr. x 17 and Jeremiah. In Hebr. x 17 the Papyrus has the normal text.

ix 1 Indeterminate. \mathfrak{P}^{46} may read *οὐν ἡ*, or *καὶ ἡ*. Between *εἶχε* and *πρῶτη* it is illegible. The Bashmuri omits *οὐν*.

ix 3 *σκηνη λεγομενη* (—*ἡ*) \mathfrak{P}^{46} but no other Greeks, nor Verss. except *syr*, which has it thus: 'Tabernaculum vero interius, quod erat intra velum secundum, vocabatur Sanctum Sanctorum.' [*f* omits verse 3].

ix 5 *κατασκευαζον* (*vel forsā . . . ὦν**) *pro* *κατασκιαζοντα* \mathfrak{P}^{46} *solus*.

'Supporting' is a possible reading for 'overshadowing', but AP 17 80 *Sod*^{a 202 1066} read *κατασκιαζον* (and *κατασκιαζων Apost 17*).

d and *e* have '*tegentes*', which is therefore indeterminate, covering all the possible meanings of both *κατασκευαζοντα* and *κατασκιαζοντα*.

ibid. + *καὶ ante* *περι ὧν* \mathfrak{P}^{46} . So also both *aeth* versions with *syr* + *καὶ vel* + *δε*. No recorded Greeks.

ix 7 *υπερ αὐτου* *pro* *υπερ εαυτου* with *L** 47 *al*⁵ *Sod*.

ix 8 First hand of \mathfrak{P}^{46} reads *μηπως* for *μηπω*, and *οτι* for *ετι*, which seems to be a possible reading. [*D** reads *μηπως πεφανερωσαι*. Sub *priore tabernaculo aeth*^{int}. *επι pro ετι Dgr**].

ix 11 *γεναμενων* \mathfrak{P}^{46} (for *μελλοντων*), seconds the *γενομενων* of *BD** *Sod*^{78 208 1436} *Chr* I/3 with *d e* *factorum* (for : *futurorum*). 'Which he wrought' *syr*.

ix 12 —*του ante ιδιου αιματος* \mathfrak{P}^{46} apparently alone (*suum d e*, *proprium vg*).

ibid. *εις τα αγια αιωνια*, *λυτρωσιν ευραμενος* \mathfrak{P}^{46} , instead of: *εις τα αγια*, *αιωνιαν λυτρωσιν ευραμενος*.

The footnote again insists upon *αιωνια* being an error, but this is quite gratuitous, for *Dion*^{alex} says: *εις τα αγια και αιωνια*, and the Latin can be read both ways:

in sancta eterna, redemptione inventâ (or: repertâ),

in sancta, eternâ redemptione inventâ („ „);

in fact, *d* says: in sanctis eternis, expiatione reperta. Neither Tischendorf nor Horner takes up this point, and von Soden has nothing to advance.

It is now clear, however, I hope, that our Greeks alone have been powerless to solve our riddles. A reference back to a number of

passages reviewed (e.g. viii 5 as to Moses, and others) will shew clearly that Version testimony cannot be neglected; that it has sometimes the force of an absolute balancing factor when brought into play with some of the apparent (but only apparent) misdemeanours of \mathfrak{P}^{16} .

ix 14 \mathfrak{P}^{16} omits the *καθαριει* clause, perhaps from homoioteleuton. The Diorthotes thought differently, for he has merely obelized the words *τω ζωντι*, assuming the verse to be complete at *αμωμον τω θεω*. But, as Kenyon points out, the mark \P at *τω ζωντι* by a second hand probably indicated the addition in the margin below.

[Here **B** ceases, but soon after \mathfrak{P}^{18} affords us its testimony].

ix 15 *δια τουτου pro δια τουτο*. This is not necessarily an 'error', for *δια τουτου του Χριστου* may be understood. Compare Hebr. xiii 21 *δια Ιησου Χριστου*, Hebr. ii 3 *δια του κυριου*, Hebr. iii 16 *δια μωσeweς*, Hebr. vii 21 *δια του λεγοντος*, Hebr. xiii 11 *δια του αρχιερεως*, and Hebr. vii 25 *δι' αυτου*.

Quite correctly and consistently 'faith' is placed in the genitive after *δια* (for *δια* thus implies 'through, and out at the other side'), but 'unfaith' follows *δια* in the accusative throughout this book. It is quite remarkable how careful N.T. writers are in this matter. Compare Hebr. xi. 33, 39 *δια πιστεως*, *δια της πιστεως* with Hebr. iii 19 *δι' απιστιαν*, iv 6 *δι' απειθειαν* (or as \aleph and \mathfrak{P}^{16} here: *δι' απιστιαν*), and x 2 *δια το μηδεμιαν εχειν*.

In the Gospels we have just three instances of the accusative. Matt. xiii 58 and Mark vi 6: *δια την απιστιαν αυτων*, Matt. xvii 20 *δια την ολιγοπιστιαν υμων*.

ibid. fin. The unusual order of *της κληρονομιας αιωνιου* for *της αιωνιου κληρονομιας* has the support of *syr boh sah*, and *f*: *hereditatis aeternae* [*non vg*].

ix 19 *πασης της εντολης* \mathfrak{P}^{16} with D and *Chr* 1/2.

ibid. — *και των τραγων* \mathfrak{P}^{16} , as \aleph^c KL 46 117 121 k^{scr} *syr arab Chr*, but against both Coptics.

ix 20 fin. — *ο θεος* by \mathfrak{P}^{16} first hand, with only *aeth* and *Sod*^{δ 180} (Jerusalem), but 'a Deo' *syr*.

ix 21 *τε pro δε* \mathfrak{P}^{16} . *Tisch Scr Matthaei* record no cursives for this, but *syr aeth* and the *vg* seem to support. Omits *δε Sod*^{a 253}.

ix 22 *και σχεδον εν νεκρω* \mathfrak{P}^{16*} *pro και σχ. εν αιματι*, but *αιματι* is written in above. Syriac only will provide a clue and a suggestion, because ܐܝܡܐ, blood, is not dissimilar from the word for death and sleep.

(At Col. i 22 another confusion is found in *m* (the Speculum) between *σωματι* and *αιματι*, *m* writing *sanguine* for *corpore*).

ibid. $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ is repeated before $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$. (Some corrector has obelized both $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ here). This second 'and almost' would be most unorthodox before the 'shedding of blood', but there it stands, and the line would be too short without it.

Verse 21 says: 'Moreover the tabernacle and all the vessels of the ministry with the blood in like manner he sprinkled';

Verse 22: 'And nearly all things are cleansed by blood ($\epsilon\nu$ $\alpha\dot{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$), according to the law, and apart from blood-letting there is no remission' (= $\alpha\phi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, rendered in the N.T. liberty, deliverance, forgiveness, or remission).

Now p^{46*} adds a second $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ before $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ in verse 22, and would read:

$\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\kappa\chi\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\omicron\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\phi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (*sic*), which can be rendered:

'and not without difficulty does liberation come to pass apart from blood-letting', or:

'and liberation occurreth with considerable difficulty apart from blood-letting', or:

'and it is not easy without blood-letting to reach liberation', or (to maintain more or less the Greek order):

'and not easily without blood pouring-forth is to be had (full) freedom'.

$\alpha\phi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (not recorded in the notes) may be plural, or singular from the oft-recurring epenthesis in this book; it makes practically no difference to the sense.

At any rate, the full, unqualified redemptive sense is distinctly weakened, if not impugned, by the modifying $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$. The question is whether it stood there originally and was removed later.

Note. $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ occurs elsewhere in the N.T. only at Acts xiii 44 and xix 26. Does this afford any clue to the authorship of Hebrews? It is not an uninteresting point. In Acts xiii 43/44 we read:

'Now when the congregation was broken up [after Paul's long speech vv. 16-41] many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed PAUL and BARNABAS, who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city ($\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ η $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$) together to hear the word of God.'

Acts xix opens by saying that 'while APOLLOS was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper country came to Ephesus'. Verse 8: 'Paul went into the synagogue and spake boldly for the space of three months.' Then (9/10) comes the two-year ministry in the school of Tyrannus. In verse 22 TIMOTHY and ERASTUS are named. Then follows an account, by the Recorder of all this, of the Diana-business

(beginning in verse 23) and it is here in Demetrius's speech that *σχεδόν* occurs again (verse 26):

'Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia (*ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας*) this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people . . .'

Observe carefully that, besides *σχεδόν*, the following expressions occur in ch. xiii and xix, which are not to be found in the acknowledged Pauline epistles, nor, indeed, anywhere else in the N.T. The Recorder here, then, uses the following other unique expressions:

At xiii 50 *παρώτρυναν* shews a strange hand at work towards the close of the chapter. This section begins at xiii 46, recording that 'PAUL and BARNABAS spake out boldly', as if with one voice (though at xiv 12 we learn that Paul was always the chief speaker: *ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου*). Then, in chapter xix, note:

xix 1 *τὰ ἀνωτερικά* in the proem of the recorder here

9 *ἐν τῇ σκολῇ*

12 *ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ* 'from his body'. *χρῶς* nowhere else.

ibid. *σιμικίνθια* 'aprons'

13 *Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν*

16 *ἐφαλλόμενος*

19 *συνεψήφισαν* (*ψηφίζω*, uncompounded, at Luc. xiv 28, Apoc. xiii 18)

23 *τάραχος* (and xii 18)

25 *εὐπορία*

27 *ἀπελεγμὸν*

29 *συγχύσεως*

35/36 *καταστείλας . . . κατεσταλμένους*

35 *νεωκόρον*

36 *ἀναντιρρήτων*

38 *ἀνθύπατοι* here and thrice in xiii (7, 8, 12).

In none of these cases in xiii and xix is Paul himself speaking. Most of them are put in the mouths of Demetrius and the (unnamed) 'town-clerk'.

I have not found one of these expressions used in *Barnabas*—perhaps because the context does not call for them—but in rereading the Epistle in Tischendorf's minor edition of **Σ**

I do find σχεδόν near the end (p. 140*, col. i, l. 10)!

This seems to me of considerable importance.

In Acts xiii 44 *σχεδὸν* (*πάσα ἡ πόλις*) occurs just before ver. 46, where Paul and Barnabas wax bold, and *together explain to the people* in a joint speech. In xix 26 *σχεδὸν* (*πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας*) is placed in Demetrius's mouth, but is an affair of the (same?) recorder of events,

sah: 'goat and calf'). All others, including *boh* ('calves and goats') = *ταυρων και τραγων* (*aeth*: 'bull and goat').

Notice that *sah* and *basm* (extant here) pull together with \mathfrak{P}^{46} and \aleph only.

x 6 *ολοκαυτωμα*, singular, agrees with DE^{sr} *d sah*^{pl} and *aeth*: 'an holocaust'.

x 7 *γεγραπται* + *γαρ* \mathfrak{P}^{46} with D only.

x 11 *fin.* *αμαρτιας* \mathfrak{P}^{46} , as all Greeks, Latins, Aethiopic, and Syriac, but \mathfrak{P}^{13} *sah boh* have *αμαρτιαν*. I record it here, because it is not in the text-books and because it shows \mathfrak{P}^{13} more Egyptian than \mathfrak{P}^{46} .

x 17 —*αυτων pr.* (*post αμαρτιων*) \mathfrak{P}^{46} with \mathfrak{P}^{13} and D 7 17 28 31 73 *Sod*¹⁶² and *d e f vg Amb*.

ibid. *μνησθω pro μνησθησομαι*, with \aleph^c D^c KLP *al. Chr Thdt Dam*, seems to have a claim to priority, being a definite quotation from the LXX in Jeremiah.

x 22 + *γαρ post προσερχομεθα* (*sic*) \mathfrak{P}^{46} , has support only from *sah* 1/3, *sy*, *aeth* + *ovv*.

ibid. *μετα αληθειας καρδιας* \mathfrak{P}^{46} —(corrected by addition of *νη* above the line, for *αληθεινης* of the rest).—'With truth of heart looks a bit Semitic. The Sahidic says: 'with a heart of truth'.

[Note that in the printed edition *νη* is misplaced. The photographic edition shows: \aleph^{NH} *αληθειας*, thus leaving the *c* intact].

x 24 *εκ παροξυσμου αγαπης* \mathfrak{P}^{46} for *εις παροξυσμον αγαπης* of all others. The Syriacs use a *beth*, which can mean anything, but here seems to point to the original Aramaic draft. [*Hiat* \mathfrak{P}^{13}].

x 25 *καταλειποντες* \mathfrak{P}^{46} with D (for *εγκαταλιπ.* of all others). The simpler form.

ibid. *ηθος τι (pro καθως ηθος τισιν)* \mathfrak{P}^{46*} . None seem to omit *καθως*. This looks like an early draft—*εθος τι*—in parenthesis, as it were.

x 26 —*γαρ* \mathfrak{P}^{46} apparently alone. (*και pro γαρ aeth*). Cp. iv 4, vii 11, xii 10, xiii 11.

ibid. *περι αμαρτιας*, singular, with D^* and a^{Sx} , together with *sah arm* (and Horner quotes *Marc*^{mon} for this). Otherwise all have *περι αμαρτιων*, but only diacritic points in the Syriac make the plural. [*Hiat* \mathfrak{P}^{13}].

ibid. *καταλειπεται* \mathfrak{P}^{46} alone, for *περιλειπεται* D, and *απολειπεται* the rest. *καταλειπω* occurs elsewhere in Hebrews at iv 1, xi 27 without variation among our Greek witnesses.

x 29 *καταξιωθησεται* \mathfrak{P}^{46} alone, for *αξιωθησεται* of the rest and \mathfrak{P}^{13} .

Does not occur elsewhere in Hebrews; and only at Luc. xx 35, xxi 36, Acts iv 41, 2 Thess. i 5, the latter representing the exact antithesis of Hebr. x 29. A very strong expression. Note the: *deprecabitur vindictae* of *d*.

x 30 — λειπει κυριος **p**⁴⁶ with **N**^{*} **D**^{*} **P** 17 *f vg boh syr aeth* 1/2 [*non sah, rell.*].

x 35 μη αποβαλητε ουν την παρρησιαν ημων (*pro . . . υμων*) **p**⁴⁶. Rather a touching intervention in this address to others: 'Cast not away *our* confidence.' [Not corrected in **p**⁴⁶, but having no other authority, except the *ημων* (*sic*) of **d**^{scr}].

x 37 — οσον *sec.* **p**^{46*} with *boh*⁴ *Eus Thdt Dam* and no less than twenty cursives recorded by *Soden*. Also, *ut vid.*, by *d r*.

ibid. χρονισει *pro* χρονιει (not recorded in the footnotes) is the reading of **p**⁴⁶ with **p**¹⁸ **N**^{*} and **D**^{*}.

x 38 Order: μου η ψυχη (for η ψυχη μου) **p**⁴⁶ with **p**¹⁸ and **D** only, is Coptic order. There are just a few places where such trend is apparent, as if the writer were native of Egypt, but *before* Egyptian versions themselves were indited. The Coptic rule is to place the possessive antecedent to the noun, but to let follow a qualifying adjective, such as 'all'. They do not say 'all the crowd' or 'the whole crowd', but 'the crowd all', and this is invariable, so that when we meet with the τὰς κατὰ σάββατον πᾶν of **p**⁴⁵ *vid. copt* for τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον of *all others* in Acts xiii 27, we get another little homely touch of the Egyptian background. This background runs right through to the foundations of Egyptian inscriptions and documents.

x 39 — υποστολης **p**⁴⁶: 'ημεις δε ουκ εσμεν εις απωλειαν' = 'but we are not for perdition', and no corrector has added anything. No other support, apparently, for this omission and for this resultant shorter and most graphic expression, which has a decided N.T. literary flavour; but compare *sah* Horner (p. 572): 'the work of the destruction' (— υποστολης).

Of course υποστολης balances the πιστεως following (which is present in **p**⁴⁶), but we *can* do without it, and it may have been added on revision. (It occurs only here). The phrase is another pure Hebraism.†

Compare Acts viii 20 το αργυριον σου ειη εις απωλειαν

1 John v 20 και εσμεν εν τω αληθινω

Matt. xxvii 10 εδωκαν αυτα εις τον αγρον

† Cp. Ps. cxxx 6: 'My soul [has hoped] for Adoni, more than the watchers for the morning, watching for the morning'.

and many other passages.† Consult also Ezek. xxviii 7: *και στρωσουσι το καλλος εις απωλειαν* and xxxii 15: *οταν δω Αιγυπτον εις απωλειαν*.

xi 1 —δε **p⁴⁶**. No other Greeks nor Latins; nor *boh*—(*sah*^{MORG} has it)—but with *Ambr Aug*^{semel} and *aeth* definitely (*om. cl. aeth^{ro}*), with *arm*: ‘What is faith if not of hoped-for things the certainty.’ The δε seems unnecessary, for here we strike a new and definite paragraph. In fact, both A.V. and R.V., recognizing this, translate δε here by an initial ‘Now’.

xi 3 *κατηρτισται* is read by **p⁴⁶**, followed by the Coptic and Syriac versions and by the English translations, but the Greek of the rest: *κατηρτισθαι*—from which I have found no other variation—is adopted by the Latin: ‘aptata esse’. As **p⁴⁶** favours *theta* generally for *tau* in many places elsewhere (*ουθ etc.*), this reading of *κατηρτισται* must be considered as quite beyond question here.

xi 4 Two lines missing bottom of 32 *recto*, but from considerations of space, it is probable that either the words *παρα καιν* or *τω θω* are omitted. *Sah*^{MORG} has both, but **p¹³** comes to the rescue and says *τω θω* is to be omitted. [Not observed by Kenyon nor by me hitherto. Merk draws attention to it and he is right].

ibid. fin. Here **p⁴⁶** confirms the *λαλει* of **p¹³** **NA** *AP etc.*, against the *λαλειται* of **DEKL mult.**

xi 8 +δ (*ante καλουμενος*) **p⁴⁶** with **AD*** 17 *sah boh arm aeth* 1/2, *d e f vg Hier* (qui vocatur), *Thdt*; but **p¹³** and the rest omit.

xi 10 *δημοργος* by first hand. An iota is added above. This is not referred to in the notes. I do not know whether *δημοργος* (for *δημιουργος*) is used in the Classics. It may be. There is a substantival use of *δημοῦχος*, a word of similar application, *viz.* ‘a guardian deity’. *Sah* is mutilated before . . . *ουργος*. The Latins and the Vulgate call him: ‘Conditor’, Jerome: ‘Creator’, *syr* and *aeth*: ‘Worker’, and *boh*: ‘her Maker’.

xi 11 *και αυτη σαρρα στειρα*. Thus **p⁴⁶**, agreed to by **D*** **Ψ** *d e f vg* and a dozen Greek cursives (*η στειρα* **D^b** *Sod*⁷⁸ *boh sah* and a few; *στειρα ουσα* **P** and a few, with *syr arm aeth Thphyl*), but *στειρα* is omitted by **NADE** **p¹³** *Chr Aug Dam Thdt* and the rest.

Here, then, we have the longer text A.D. 200, but *στειρα* could, of course, easily be dropped after *σαρρα*.

† The *Sahidic* lends itself to a Greek base here of: *εις (το) ποιημα (της) απωλειας*, which would contrast with the *εις περιποιησιν ψυχης* following; *ποιημα* (not *πονημα*) is a N.T. word. See Rom. i 20, Eph. ii 10. There must be something unknown behind this omission of *υποστολης*. The *Aethiopic* has ‘non sumus *divertentes* ad perditionem’ (which does not mean ‘drawing back’)

ibid. — $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ \mathfrak{P}^{46} with \mathfrak{P}^{13} vid \mathfrak{N}^* AD* 17 *d e f vg sah boh aeth arm Chr* 1/2 *Euthal*, against the rest and *syr Chr* 1/2 *Dam Thdt* which have it; while $\text{D}^{\text{Scr}} \text{E}^{\text{Scr}} \text{P}$ 37 73 80 116 add: $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron \tau\epsilon\kappa\nu\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ after $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\nu$, and *d e: filium*.

Thus, in one single verse, we must judge between 'longer' and 'shorter' texts, and not make a fetish of either. There is no royal road or short cut in these matters.

xi 12 $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ \mathfrak{P}^{46} with AD* KP 17 109 117 219* (*latt: orti sunt*).

ibid. $\kappa\alpha\iota \omega\varsigma \eta \alpha\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ \mathfrak{P}^{46} with \mathfrak{P}^{13} \mathfrak{N} A *al. mult.* ($\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma \eta$ D 21 37 n^{Scr} , $\kappa\alpha\iota \omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$ *minn. Chr Euthal Thdt*).

ibid. — η $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha \tau\omicron \chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ \mathfrak{P}^{46*} with D^* Ψ *d e aeth.*

We have to be careful hereabouts, in order to view the base. Here again is 'the shorter text'. Now comes an important choice between substitutions:

xi 13 \mathfrak{P}^{46} chooses the simpler $\mu\eta \lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ($\tau\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$) supported by $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{c}} \text{DEKL}\Psi$ *Sod*⁷³ *al.*, the textus receptus, *Chr* 1/2 *Thdt Dam* 2/3, while $\mu\eta \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ is read by A (see *Hebr.* xi 35), and $\mu\eta \kappa\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ is found in $\mathfrak{N}^*\text{P}$ 17 23* 39 57 71 80 115 *Chr*^{codd} *Euthal Dam* 1/3 *Thphyl* (see *Hebr.* xi 39), and adopted in Hort's and the Revised's text.

The Latins and *Hier* use an ablative absolute: *non acceptis repositionibus*, but *Aug:* *cum non accepissent promissiones*. *Syr aeth* say: 'and they found not', while *sah* is: $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\chi\iota \pi\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$

and *boh* is: $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\chi\iota \pi \bar{\iota} \kappa\iota \epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$.

ibid. $\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ \mathfrak{P}^{46*} (for $\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$). No other Greeks, but $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ^{vid} *syr aeth* 1/2. — $\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ d^{Scr} , *Sod*⁵⁵ and *d e (ut vid.)*.

xi 14 $+ \tau\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\omicron\iota\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ \mathfrak{P}^{46} ($\pi\bar{\iota}\pi\alpha\iota$ *sah boh*). No other Greeks apparently. but $\tau\alpha \alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ *Matthaei's* 1 (old 121 and *Sod*^{8 206}). [*Talia vett*, haec *vg et f.* $\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$ vel $\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ *aeth*^{vid}. *Hujusmodi sermones arab*^{int}].

ibid. $\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ *pro* $\epsilon\pi\iota\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$. This simpler form of \mathfrak{P}^{46} , with D^* 14 20 109 178 *Chr*^{codd} 1/3 *Procop* (and *Hier*^{bis}: *quaerant*, *Aug:* *quaerunt*), must have preceded $\epsilon\pi\iota\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, adopted by all others. The remaining Latins, however, with *inquirere* certainly imply $\epsilon\pi\iota\zeta\eta\tau$. of the other Greeks, while the Coptic $\alpha\gamma\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon$ may just as well be translating $\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, except that both *sah* and *boh* seem to convey $\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ or $\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\tau\omicron$. Cp. \mathfrak{P}^{13} xi 6 $\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ *pro* $\epsilon\kappa\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$.

xi 15 $\mu\eta\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ *sic* \mathfrak{P}^{46} , *cum* $\mathfrak{N}^*\text{D}^*?\Psi$ 47 73 80 *Sod*^{78 162 172 1436} *Euthal Thdt*: $\mu\eta\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$. *Contra*: $\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ 17 31 *Chron*, *et:* $\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{c}} \text{AD}^{\text{c}} \text{KLP}$ *rell. et sah boh*. *Meminissent latt, velint vel*

vellent *aeth* 1/2 (*apud Horner*). *Om. syr* = 'Quod si civitatem illam ex quâ egressi fuerant, quaevisissent.'

ibid. ἐξ[βη]σαν *P*⁴⁶ cum *N**AD*E*P 17 73 80, *Ps-Ath* (*vel* ἐξεβληθησαν) *Euthal Chron Dam*.

ἐξηλθον *N*^c1^cE**KLΨ *al mult sah boh Chr Procop Thdt*. *Exierunt latt*. *Egredientibus illis* (—*meminissent*) *aeth*^{int} 1/2.

ibid. εἶχαν *pro* εἶχον *an P*⁴⁶. (*εἶχον absque an D***vid*). *Cf. boh sah*.

Hier^{bis}: habebant tempus ut reverterentur (ad eam),

Aug: habuissent tempus revertendi,

f vg: habebant utique tempus revertendi,

d e: habebant tempus revertendi.

[εἶχον *an plur*. *Cf. arm sah aeth*].

ibid. fin. +ad eam *Hier* (*ut supra*) cum *sah boh arm aeth* 1/2 *syr*.

+παλιν *ante* ανακαμψαι *Sod*^δ 157.

*Nihil habet P*⁴⁶.

xi 16 ο θεος (—θεος *seq.*) *P*⁴⁶, *ut* 115 (*Matthaei d*). *Non al. vid.*

xi 17 —αβρααμ *P*⁴⁶? cum *8^{pe} et Ψ* (*teste Soden*) *Sod*¹⁴³⁶ *Chr*^{cod} *syr*^h?

There is a change of order here, and as the Papyrus is mutilated and lacking after *πειραζομενος και*, it may be that it came in later, as in *D** *d e*.

ibid. The printed edition of *P*⁴⁶ omits *τον* before *ισακ*. The photo is not sufficiently clear to control this. *Boh* has: Ἰσαακ, but *sah*: ισαακ.

xi 18 Direct oration, —οτι *P*⁴⁶, as *D**PΨ 238 *a*^{Scr} *al. pauc. d e syr aeth* [*non copt*] *Chr*^{codd} *Cyr Aug*.

xi 20 πιστι (*sic, ut saepe*) +και *P*⁴⁶ with *AD** 17 23 37 67* 116 253* *Sod*⁷⁸ 162 *al pauc d e f vg Chr Euthal Thdt Dam Prim Sedul* (etiam) *et Sod txt† Hort txt* (*nil mg*), but it is opposed by *ND*^cEKL PΨ and all the Versions,† except the Latin.

xi 21 *εκαστον των υιων αυτου pro εκαστον των υιων Ιωσηφ* by *P*⁴⁶* is a happy elimination of later error. The LXX had made trouble by a wanton substitution of *αυτους* for Joseph (Ἰωσήφ) in Gen. xlviii 15; but there Jacob blessed Joseph and the grandsons, who (see verse 5) ranked as sons. Another Hebraism! Ben means son *or* grandson. Cp. Ezra v 1 with Zech. i 1. Thus, in Gen. xlix 22–28 *all* the family were blessed: 'εκαστον κατα την ευλογιαυ αυτου ευλογησεν αυτους'. *P*⁴⁶, therefore, sums up *the whole of* Gen. xlviii and xlix, and does not err.

xi 22 +και (*inter τελευτων et περι*) *P*⁴⁶. This appears to be unknown elsewhere. It is, no doubt, supposed to balance the second *και*.

† In his notes von Soden quotes *boh sah* for +και, but this is an error. They are without it.

xi 23 *τριμηνος* for *τριμηνον* **P**⁴⁶ alone. The Latins render: 'mensibus tribus'. The Copts do not transliterate the Greek here. We have, therefore, no guide. This, the third exceptional reading within three verses, indicates a draft of this epistle which had not yet been 'polished'. A proof of the unpolished condition is exhibited by the absence of *γαρ* in *iv* 4, *vii* 11, *x* 26, *xii* 10, and *xiii* 11.

ibid. — *και ante ουκ εφοβηθησαν*. This is different, because it is in the Coptic manner—(cf. *Hebr.* *viii* 2, *Col.* *iii* 23)—and finds support here by *sah*, as well as by Scrivener's *d* (old Paul 255); it is a variant, however, unknown to *Tisch.* *Soden* notes — *και* here for his 552, by which he means his *a* 552, and he has given the wrong cross-reference in his list of MSS to Scrivener's number as *P.* 225 instead of *P.* 255, but the MS is identified by *Soden*'s reference to the *d* of *Scr.* in *Codex Augiensis Suppt.* [*d* has occurred several times above]. Therefore *Soden* knows of no new evidence. (Most other Versions use *pec* for *και ουκ*).

xi 23/24 The Papyrus knows nothing of: *πιστι μεγας γενομενος μωυσης ανιεν τον αιγυπτιον κατανοων την ταπινωσιν των αδελφων αυτου* of *D* between verses 23 and 24, and the: *Fide, magnus factus Moyses, occidit Aegyptium, considerans dolorem fratrum suorum* of *d e*. *Soden* adds a Greek witness '367'. His *a* 367 is at Athens, *e* 367 does not contain the Epistles, and *δ* 367 is at Florence.

Note that neither *f* nor the known vulgates add, nor other Versions.

D^{sr} *d e* are thus accused of tampering with the record (in very bad taste), and, therefore, their testimony is impugned. Yet, they were building throughout upon an old foundation, and it is precisely this feature that makes it so difficult to adjudicate between the shorter and the longer text; and the matter cannot and must not be treated as if *Clark* had settled everything in favour of a longer text. He would have been the first to qualify such a generalization.

xi 29 *δια ξηρας γης πειραν* **P**⁴⁶. An early hand has squeezed in *HC* between *ΓHC* and *πειραν*. No others omit *ἡς*. A few omit *γῆς*.

xi 30 *κυκλοθεν sic pro κυκλωθεντα* **P**⁴⁶ alone. We translate *κυκλωθεντα*: 'after they were compassed'. *Sah* (with *syr copt aeth*) has: 'when they had compassed them'. *d e* have 'girati' at the end of the verse, but *f vg*: circuitu (after corruerunt).

xi 31 *απιστησασιν pro απειθησασιν* **P**⁴⁶ alone (exactly as before at *iii* 18). Not known in our other Greeks, and another proof of early date [even if we were blindfold], before polishing and attempted harmonizing. The sense is almost the same, but *d e* with: 'infidelibus cum contumacibus' have roughly conflated the readings, which neither

Tisch, Horner, nor *Soden* report. [The *Syriac* (Schaaf) is rendered: 'qui non auscultârunt', while *aeth* is translated in the Polyglot: 'qui perditî sunt'. The *Arabic* is given as: 'cum rebellibus'].

Now we can see how D^{gr} *d e* were working *vafre*, in quite a critical way, but having access to plenty of old material.

xi 32 *σαμψω pro σαμψων*. So **P**⁴⁶ together with **P**¹³ and D^{gr} (*d e* Samsoni), while *sah boh* have Sampsôn or Sampsôm. *Σαμψω* is presumably a dative following 'περι', and Samsoni an ablative following 'de' in *d* and *e*. The Fathers all have Samson or Sampson, indeclinable. I record it only because of the presence of D *d e* here. I have neglected many of their 'improvements' throughout, when they opposed **P**⁴⁶.

ibid. *δαυειδ και σαμουηλ (absque τε ante και)* **P**⁴⁶, alone among Greeks, with *f vg aeth syr* and *sah boh* (only **אחב**), but against *d e*, which have 'qui et' meant for 'que et', and *tol*: 'quoque'.

xi 33 — *κατηγωνισαντο errore*. There can be no question here of its not being an error, but the ninefold verbal narrative in vv. 33–34 explains how one of the first two verbs ending in -το could be dropped, especially if the original was in the not unusual short lines. It will be noticed that *κατηγωνισαντο* has thirteen letters, exactly the number which usually obtained in a short-lined document. In fact, in the other Epistles in **P**⁴⁶ we have some omissions—like *απαξ ελιθασθην* at 2 Cor. xi 25—of thirteen letters, and others of a multiple of 13, viz. 26 and 39 letters.

Note that *aeth* says: Qui per fidem expugnârunt et consecuti sunt regna,† operati sunt justitiam, implêrunt ora leonum *etc.*, omitting *επετυχον επαγγελιων*, while conflating *κατηγωνισαντο*, which indicates some fault or crevasse in the original, some faulty line-arrangement which may have caused the trouble.

ibid. This is followed by *βασιλεις* for *βασιλειας*, an easy mistake, if it be a mistake, for it is quite a possible reading. The rest oppose, including **P**¹³, which comes in here again.

xi 34 *επι pro απο* **P**⁴⁶, a real variant and quite possible: *εδυναμωθησαν επι ασθενειας* for *εδυν.* (or *ενεδυν.*) *απο ασθενειας*, but only *aeth* has a variant of: 'fortes facti sunt prae adversantibus iis, et praevaluerunt in bello . . .'

We are so accustomed to the wrongful order in English of: 'out of weakness were made strong', that a change seems abhorrent. Yet, if we had said: 'were made strong out of weakness', we should have no

† Horner has: 'strove and conquered and gained their ways', and, for *aeth*^{ro}: 'strove and gained a kingdom'.

difficulty in reading here: 'were empowered to rise superior to weaknesses', only we must read *ασθενειας* as an accusative plural. If we want to avoid this, we can translate *επ' ασθενειας*, genitive singular, as: 'in weakness', just as: *επ' αληθειας* means 'in truth'. In fact this is what the Coptic adumbrates, for both Coptics say 'in': 'they gained power in (the) weakness'.

All these little matters must be sifted, even if we have no adequate Greek help. It is not a question of confronting *P*⁴⁶ with our few Greeks *ΝΒΑΔΚΛΜΡΨ* and our few Latins *defug*, but of confronting *them* with a *fait accompli* A.D. 200 in *P*⁴⁶, and of weighing the whole matter in the scales of catholic antiquity.

xi 35 *ελαβον γυναικες* or *ελαβον γυναικας* is here indeterminate, as the Papyrus codex lacks the last two lines of folio 34 *recto*, although Homer seems to have nodded in the footnotes, citing the Papyrus for: 'γυναικες *cum* *Ν*^c*D*^b*Σ*, -κας *Ν*^{*}*Α**D*^{*}'.† The Sahidic reads: 'Women received their dead . . .'; *boh*: 'Received women their dead . . .', but *syr* had *γυναικας*, for it renders: 'And they gave (back) to women their sons from a resurrection of the dead.' All Latins read the nominative, but in the second position *after ελαβον*, following the Greek order.

As there is the *possibility* of *P*⁴⁶ having had something else instead of *ελαβον γυναικες* in the missing line, it is interesting to see that we *could* fill the gap, as in *syr*: 'they gave to women' by: *εδωκαν γυναιξιν*—the same number of letters; *ηγαγον* also, or, better still, *ανηγαγον* would fit, and they are apposite words used for restoring to life (*Hes., Eurip.*). The matter must not, therefore, be prejudged, but remains open.

xi 36 *ετι δε δεσμων και φυλακαις* *P*⁴⁶ alone (with *boh*?). The rest have *φυλακης*. The Latins all have: 'insuper et vincula et carceres' (in the plural), although *Ambr* says: 'non horrebant tenebras carceris'. *Sah* has literally: 'but further in the bonds with the prison' (singular), while *boh* has: 'but further with the bonds *with the prisons*' (plural).

φυλακαις, therefore, is either itacismic for *φυλακης*, or *φυλακες*, or *φυλακας*, or the writer of the Papyrus let his Egyptian trend of mind run to the dative plural and not to the Greek genitive or to the Latin accusative.

Syr says: 'alii in vincula et in carceres traditi sunt'. The *arabic* elaborates a bit with: 'alii gustârunt experimentum ludibriorum, et verberum et vinculorum, ac praeterea carceris', bringing in both plural and singular expressions.

xi 37 *P*⁴⁶ has *ελισθασθησαν επρισθησαν*, omitting *επειρασθησαν*. See the long note in Tischendorf. Hort prints *επειρασθησαν, επρισθησαν txt*, and *επρισθησαν, επειρασθησαν marg*, while discoursing of it (one

† *Soden* adds δ48 and α1066 for *γυναικας*.

out of a mere eleven passages discussed in the Appendix) pp. 131/2 of Select Readings in vol. ii. The only authorities to agree with the Papyrus' plain omission of *επειρασθησαν* are six cursives, *syr*, *sah*, and *aetho*¹⁰, plus some Fathers and *Acacius* (*Caten. Niceph.*); the rest have it, either before or after *επισθησαν*, while *sah* places *ελιθασθησαν* after *επισθησαν*, writing: 'They were sawn, they were stoned . . .', or, literally (as usual): 'They sawed them, they stoned them . . .'

The other Aethiopic (Polyglot vol.) seems to omit both *επισθησαν* and *επειρασθησαν*, but brings in 'tentati' at the end, between 'inopes' and 'male habiti'.

Επειρασθησαν, then, (which has never fitted very well in this verse), is declared by *P*⁴⁶ to be extraneous, and can well be dropped.

xi 39 — οὗτοι *P*⁴⁶ with *Sod*⁷⁸, *Clem*^{alex}? and *Aug* alone apparently. (— πάντες *Auct*^{de} dupl Mart, *Anton*).

xi 40 προσβλεψαμενοι *pro* προβλεψαμενον. This would be unintelligible without noticing that *P*⁴⁶ adds *του θεου* to the end of verse 39 after *την επαγγελιαν* (for there is a dash after *τοῦ θ'Υ'*) and begins verse 40 with: *περι ημων κριτον τι προσβλεψαμενοι* = 'they themselves having contemplated some better thing concerning us', and not: 'God having provided *etc.*'.

Aug (once) and *Clem* add *του θεου* to verse 39 (as *P*⁴⁶), but continue with a genitive; in *Clement's* case it is *προειδομενον*, but then he seems to repeat *του θεου* after it, while *P*⁴⁶ makes *προσβλεψαμενοι* apply to all those (exceptional) martyrs whose sufferings have been rehearsed in the preceding verses 32–39. (*Aeth* also seems to keep *του θεου* at the end of verse 39, but continues with the usual sense in verse 40 of God providing for us something better).

m^{Scr} places the stop after *του θεου περι ημων*.

xii 2 + *τον ante* σταυρον. So only *P*⁴⁶ and *P*¹³ *D** *Cyr*^{hier}, with *sah* [not *boh*] *arm* (Merk) and our English Versions (gratuitously). *Aeth* has: 'the shame of the cross, having despised it'. *Soden* adds no other Greeks.

xii 3 — *τον ante* τοιαυτην *P*⁴⁶ with only *P*¹³ and *D* again, so these three hang together. *Soden* adds nothing.

ibid. *eis* αυτους αντιλογιαν *pro eis* αυτον (*εαυτον* AP *f* *vg*^{Cl}.) αντιλογιαν. *P*⁴⁶ is supported by *N***D***E** and *P*¹³ *Sod*⁷⁸ with *εαυτους* and by *N*^c 17 *Euthal* *Thdt*^{diserte} with *αυτους* (as *vgg*^{codd} and *syr*).

ibid. — *υμων* *P*⁴⁶ with *P*¹³ 37 116 and *a*^{Scr} *Dam* and *d* *e*.

ibid. *εγλελυμενοι* *P*⁴⁶ with *P*¹³ and *D** only (*εκλελυμενοι*) for *εκλυομενοι*. A question of tense, but the Latins (even *d*) all have *deficientes*; it

looks as if *aeth* had our reading, as *boh* (but not *sah*): 'that ye wax not weary, *having been dissolved* in your souls'.

xii 4 ἀντικατέστησεν P^{46*} , ἀντικατέστηκεν *ex emend.* (a *pr. man. vid.*) *pro* ἀντικατέστητε *plur.* (αντε- *pauc.*). This is unknown, unless intended in *d*, according to Sabatier's margin: restituit (*restitit e*), but we must envisage it with the previous οἶποι of P^{46*} for οἶπω. This takes the matter back to verse 3, where we were to consider him who endured such contradiction of sinners, lest we be weary *etc.*, and implies in verse 4 that *at that time* 'he had not yet resisted unto blood'. But it is not satisfactory. The periphrasis in the two Aethiopics may indicate some original difficulty. Bohairic also has a roundabout way of putting it. [*Tisch* quotes *Ducas*²⁹ for ἀπεκατέστησε and *Cinnam* for ἀπεκατέστη].

ibid. Both P^{46} and P^{13} have the simpler ἀγωνιζόμενοι here for ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι of the rest [except 37 and *Sod*^{a158} and *Apost* 17 (*Matthaei's* χ)].

xii 5 υἱους *pro* υἱοῖς P^{46} . 'As son' *sah*, 'as sons' *boh aeth.*

ibid. παιδεία *pro* παιδίας P^{46} . (neglegere disciplina *dvid*). Quoted from Prov. iii 11, where the ordinary text obtains in the LXX.

Sah has: Be not discouraged *at the* chastening }

Boh „ „ „ „ „ *in the* „ }

Does P^{46} , then, imply the dative?

xii 9 οὐ πολὺ δὲ μαλλόν P^{46} with $\text{N}^{\text{c}}\text{D}^{\text{gr}}$ P^{13} *Sod*⁷⁸, against the lack of δὲ in the others. Here we have an addition. (+ οὖν *vid. sah*²¹⁴ *syr*).

xii 10 Here we have an omission. — γὰρ P^{46*} . (— μὲν *vel* γὰρ *syr arm*). [αὖτε γὰρ *sah boh*]. Observe — γὰρ also at iv 4, vii 11, x 26, xiii 11.

xii 13 ποιεῖτε *pro* ποιήσατε P^{46} with N^*P 17 *Sod*^{a264 472}. The LXX (Prov. iv 26) has: ὁρθὰς τροχίας ποιεῖ σοὶς ποσὶ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς σου κατευθύνει.

In Matt. iii 3 (quoting Isaiah xl 3) we find ποιεῖτε. In my edition of the LXX I find ποιητε at Is. xl 3.

xii 15 The editor prints ἐνχῆλη for ἐνοχλή. The photo, owing to a crease, almost exhibits ἐνχολή = the reading of old Paul 244, see Scrivener's Adv. Crit. p. lxxxi and the reading of the LXX here (Deut. xxix 18: ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ). *Sah* definitely has it: 'in a trouble' (ḡḇ oḡmoḡē) as Horner points out, saying in his notes: 'probably by error for ἐν οχλή'. So also Mill, *Proleg.* § 495.

At any rate, this little touch indicates something worth bearing in mind in our researches elsewhere.

ibid. και δι αυτης *pro* και δια ταυτης. So \mathfrak{P}^{16} with AP [*non* $\mathfrak{ND}\Psi$] 17 47 67** 80 137 238 260 (= k^{Scr}) *Clem Chr Euthal*, and: 'et per illam' *latt*.

xii 16 fin. τας πρωτοτοκειας (*pro* τα πρωτοτοκ(ε)ια αυτου *vel* εαυτου) \mathfrak{P}^{16} . This is a Greek error, for τὰ πρωτοτόκια or τὰ πρωτοτοκεῖα means the right(s) of the first-born, whereas ἡ πρωτοτοκία is the bearing of a first-born, and the LXX in Genesis xxv and xxvii uses only the neuter plural throughout. See, however, Aquila Gen. xxv 34, Deut. xxi 17.

xii 17 μετανοιας τοπον γαρ ουχ ευρεν (*pro* μετανοιας γαρ τοπον ουχ ευρεν). This order of \mathfrak{P}^{16} seems to be unsupported. *Sod*²⁰⁰ omits γαρ (*aeth* has και). The *sahidic* (with *boh*) has ουχ ευρεν γαρ τοπον μετανοιας.

xii 18 σκοτει \mathfrak{P}^{16} *cum* Ψ *solo* (*pro* σκοτω $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{CD}}\text{bcL al. Chr Dam Thdt} *vel* ζοφω $\mathfrak{N}^*\text{ACD}^*\text{P}$ 17 31 39 71 73 80 137). *Om.* K *et Sod*²¹⁶. και ζοφω και σκοτω *arm*.$

The reading of our papyrus, it seems to me, disposes of ζοφω altogether, in favour of σκότῳ or σκοτίᾳ. Presumably σκοτει stands for σκοτίᾳ or σκοτείᾳ (see photo, at end of line). σκότῳ doubtless comes from the LXX (σκοτος occurs some 70 times), e.g. Ex. x 22 και εγενετο σκοτος, γνοφος, θυελλα, whereas the rarer σκοτια occurs only three times in the LXX (Job xxviii 3, Isaiah xvi 3, Micah iii 6). \mathfrak{P}^{16} has πγρι και γνοφω και σκοτει. In the Latin all are accusatives.

xii 21 Here \mathfrak{P}^{16} puts the εκτρομος of \mathfrak{ND}^* in the wrong by writing εντρομος with the majority.

xii 23 — παντων \mathfrak{P}^{16*} alone. Added over the line in a much heavier hand. No support. Only *aeth* varies with: 'et ad Deum, iudicem iustitiae, iudicemque omnium iustorum perfectorum' (omitting πνευμασιν, which \mathfrak{P}^{16} retains).

xii 24 \mathfrak{P}^{16} writes $\overline{\text{IHC}} \overline{\chi\text{PC}}$ for Ἰησοῦ, but, as it follows this with και αιματι ραντισμον, resuming the running construction, it can be neglected, although it is noticeable that the Coptics write $\overline{\text{IC}}$ or $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, while no MSS or Versions add Χριστον or Χριστος.

ibid. 'κρειττονα *cum* \mathfrak{S} , κρειττον \mathfrak{NACD} ' says the foot-note, but this is not correct as to the Κοινη (= \mathfrak{S}), for not only do LMP also write κρειττον, but all Scrivener's and Matthaei's cursives, plus the Versions: 'melius' not 'meliora'. The note should be:

κρ(ε)ιττονα *cum* 17 47 *al.*² *aeth Thdt Cosm*, κρειττον $\mathfrak{NACDKLMP}\Psi$ *minn rell omn et Verss* [*praeter aeth*].

Soden quotes δ 48 δ 507 with (α)253 and 158 for κρειττονα, [but α 253 = old No. 2 at Bâle (δ 253 = old No. 3 at Vienna), α 158 is at Sinai]. δ 48 = 17 and δ 507 = 47, both above. So that, at most,

Soden may add two more cursive witnesses for *κρειττονα*. What misled the editor is probably that our A.V. says 'better things', corrected to 'better' by R.V. *κρ(ε)ιττονα* of *P*⁴⁶ may be original, but, if so, it was early amended.

xii 25 *P*⁴⁶ decides for *πολλω μαλλον* (with *D^cKLMP al. pl. Chr Euthal Cyr Thdt Dam*) against the *πολυ μαλλον* of *NA^cCD* 17* and *literatim* the Sahidic. The Syriac here (alone, as translated) has: 'quanto *minus* nos' (for the 'quanto *magis* nos' of all the Latins) writing: 'Quanto minus nos, si subterfugerimus eum *qui loquutus est nobiscum de caelo.*' But at *Hebr. x 25* the same Syriac is rendered 'quanto magis'. The words italicized above in *xii 25* do not seem to appear elsewhere (except A.V. '*that speaketh*', in italics, R.V. '*that warneth*', in italics); and *Horner*, in his notes, does not take up the matter of the Syriac in this final clause. It all turns upon the little 'not', which is absent from the Greek, the first *οὐκ* being made to serve twice over. Thus you will find in the R.V. that the third '*not*' is in italics.

ibid. Instead of *ημεις οι τον απ ουρανων αποστρεφομενοι*, *P*⁴⁶ writes: *ημεις (—οι) τον απ ουρανων αποστρεφομενον*. This must be an error.

xii 27 *—την* altogether in *P*⁴⁶, with *D*^M Sod⁷⁸ arm.* In the other Greeks it appears either before *των σαλευομενων* or after it. It seems impossible to determine whether it belongs to the record, or was absent from the original draft.

xii 28 *εχομεν* *P*⁴⁶ with *NAKP 17 31 37 73 al.²⁵ d f vg aeth Ath Cyr Antioch Cosm (Chr codd fluct), Sod txt*, against:

εχωμεν of *P*⁴⁶ *ex emend.* and of *ACD⁸²LM syr copt arm vg^{demid} aeth^{int} Hort txt.*

ibid. *λατρευωμεν* *P*⁴⁶. Cf. *boh*: 'let us be having grace, THIS THROUGH WHICH WE WILL serve God . . .'

λατρευωμεν *ACDL 17 al. syr aeth Chr Cyr Thdt Cosm Dam^{com}, d f vg*: *serviamus, et Sod txt Hort txt, A.V., R.V.*

λατρευομεν *NAKMP al. pl. arm Ath Chr Euthal Dam^{txt} Thphyl Oec.*

Here again (cf. *xii 17*) the *Bohairic* alone, confronted with *P*⁴⁶, outstrips its competitors, whether we read *λατρευσομεν* or *λατρευωμεν*.

[Note. Von Soden does not record *λατρευσομεν*. He gives his list for *λατρευωμεν*. In some cases I cannot add his MSS., especially when he says: 'So and so gegen so and so except so and so'; for the process of disentanglement, besides being painfully exacting, might make confusion worse confounded. And he makes no allowance for hiatus (as in *Ψ* from *viii 11* to *ix 19*)].

ibid. *P*⁴⁶ says the reading is *δεους* (with most), and it must be correct,

although the word is absent from the rest of the N.T. The alternative is *αιδους* (read by KL and some, with *Thdt* (*Cosm* + *και δεησεως*) *Dam.* *αιδουs* (from *αιδως*) occurs elsewhere only at 1 Tim. ii 9.

δεησεις is used at Hebr. v 7 by all MSS. including *P⁴⁶*, and occurs once in Romans, twice in 2 Corinthians, four times in Philippians, once in Ephesians, three times in the epistles to Timothy; and *δεος* seems foreign to St. Paul's vocabulary—one of the arguments against his authorship of Hebrews, and the reason why some do not like *δεους* here and substitute *αιδους*.

It seems very unlikely that the problem of authorship will ever be solved, unless we come across some piece of writing of Apollos, and can compare his vocabulary with that running through the Epistle to the Hebrews in respect to the 154 words which remain unique and outside the diction of other writers of the N.T. St Paul is found to use 63 words in common with the author (or authors) of Hebrews; Luke 16, Acts 24 (= 40 if we add them), while we count 5 for Matthew, 5 for Mark, 6 for John, one for Jude, 3 for James, 6 for Peter, and 3 for the Apoc. Jointly, Luke-Acts-Hebrews 10 times, Paul-Acts-Hebrews 13 times, Luke-Paul-Hebrews 8 times, and *Paul-Peter-Hebrews* 16 times. The last combination is interesting (plus the other 6 instances of Peter-Hebrews) when we recollect the badly translated *ιστορησαι* of Galatians i 18, of Paul's objective in visiting Jerusalem: 'to confer with' Peter, for *ιστορησαι* means much more than 'to see'. Wetstein gives a good quotation from Plutarch, with *ιδειν* preceding *ιστορησαι*: 'to see Cicero and learn by close conference with him how to . . .' Notice that Peter (1 Pet. iii 21) and the writer of Hebrews (ix 24) are the only ones to use the word *ἀντίτυπον*.

xiii 5 *αρκουμενος* (*pro* *αρκουμενοι*) *P⁴⁶* with M only of Greeks and no Latins. This seems to be the Syriac, Aethiopic, and Armenian way of expressing it. Thus *αρκουμενος* might easily be original. *ἀρκέω* is rare elsewhere in the N.T. Once in Matthew; once in Luke, twice in John, once 2 Cor. xii 9, and once in Timothy, although it is fully expressive of N.T. ideals (e.g. *τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἔχειν Xenophon*: 'to have the strict necessities').

On turning to the photographic edition of *P⁴⁶*, I see that the scribe wrote *ΑΡΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ* or the first stroke of *Ν* for *ΑΡΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ*, but a sigma (original shape, but heavy) is imposed over this iota. It is instructive, as showing careful consideration, and should be taken into account where other rare readings have *not* been amended.

xiii 6 *λεγει pro* *λεγειν* *P⁴⁶*, but changed to *λεγειν* by the first hand, apparently. *θαρρουντας* remains undisturbed, but *ημας* is omitted (with *MΨ Sod⁷⁸* only). *Syr* has: 'And it is to us to say confidently'; *f vg*

arm have: 'ita ut confidenter dicamus'. *Aeth* has: 'et nunc confidenter dicamus'.

[1st changes the order to: λεγειν ημας, but *d* has: 'ita audiente (audentes *vel* audenter?) dicite'].

'Confidenter' might assume a *θαρρουντως* for *θαρρουντας* ημας, but I do not find a Greek witness for this, unless *Dst* had it originally. The reason for all this hesitation is the question of the first person singular or plural, which might govern the introduction to the quotation which follows:—

'The Lord is *my* helper, *I* will not fear what man shall do unto *me*' (or: 'what shall man do unto me?').

No Greeks are recorded for *θαρρουντως* (or *θαρσουντως*) λεγει.

ibid. *P¹⁶* has και ου φοβηθησομαι with the LXX in Psa. 117. 6, whereas *N^{*}C^{*}P^{*}* 17 108* *Soa¹⁸* *d f vg syr sah aeth* 1/2 *boh^{pl}* omit και. This because, with the absence of και, the next clause can become a question, although in *sah* (which omits και, *more sah*) it does not appear to be a question. [In *boh* it can be read either way, and perhaps in *sah* also. In *aeth* and in our R.V. it is definitely a question]. *P¹⁶* has τι ποιησει μοι ανθρωπος, and only 47* seems to have ποιηση (*latt*: faciat).

xiii 7 —υμων *P¹⁶* (*post των ηγουμενων*), apparently alone. Clearly we can do without it, but it is a queer appearance of 'the shorter text', suddenly to the fore once more, though *Dst** may be without it.

ibid. ως *pro* ων *P¹⁶* alone. This is quite clear, following a space after θεου.† Again the footnote claims ως to be a simple error. But turn to the *Sahidic* and you read in Horner's translation (although the 'as' is not clearly present): 'these, as ye look at the exaltation of their manner of life'; then a good stop or pause before: 'Imitate their faith'.‡ However, in *P¹⁶* there is no space between της αναστροφης and μιμεισθε. But in *aeth* we get the ως definitely:

'And behold *how ye see* the last moment of life, the going out of the world.'

So there must be a reason for the ως present in *P¹⁶*, although the Latins and the Syriac show no trace of it.

xiii 8 —και *prim.* *P¹⁶**, but added at once above the line by the true first hand. *Boh* expresses it 'with to-day', *neal* for και, but *sah* here has the actua και (οϣω). Only m of Scrivener (37) supports *P¹⁶*,

† The printed edition lacks γ after θ. The space is thus indicated (so clearly shewn in the photo), but γ has been dropped in printing by mistake.

‡ *Aeth* expresses this to perfection: . . . Imitamini me in fide Jesu Christi, qui heri et hodie est usque in aeternum.

and this is not to be found in Tischendorf, but *is* recorded by Soden (δ 505).

ibid. — ο *ante* αυτος. No other Greeks besides \mathfrak{P}^{46} apparently (see *aeth* in the note below on previous page). *Sah* expresses 'He' by $\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$, but *boh* primes the αυτος by doubling it: $\pi\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \psi\alpha\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma$, i.e. 'He is He and ($\pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$, with) for ever', meaning "with an everlasting 'He-ness', or 'Sameness'."

xiii 9 διδαχαις ποικιλαις ξεναις (— και) \mathfrak{P}^{46} with *boh*^{DFK} [*non sah*] and *aeth*^{ambobus} (1/2: other strange doctrine; 1/2: strange doctrine other). No Greeks, no Latins, nor Syriac.

Observe, once more, that Bohairic is in the running; and whether the Version was made late, but from very ancient documents, or early (as I have supposed and still suppose) from contemporary documents, we have abundant proof that much of its base is as old as the bases of the Sahidic. I must emphasize such places as the above, for these readings have gone all-unrecorded hitherto, and, in justice to myself and to the Cause, it is important to see where the Bohairic really stands throughout these studies. (See above, xii 17, 28, xiii 15, etc.).

ibid. fin. \mathfrak{P}^{46} declares for περιπατουντες (those who are still walking in that way), instead of περιπατησαντες.

\mathfrak{P}^{46} is supported by $\mathfrak{N}^*\text{AD}^*$ and *Soa*^{a1066} (= old 71, not mentioned by *Tisch*), but by none of Scrivener's or Matthaei's other cursives. \mathfrak{P}^{46} also has the support of *sah boh* and *aeth*, which nobody mentions except Horner.

περιπατησαντες has the countenance of the rest, of the Fathers, of *arm* and *syr*.

(All the Latins have *ambulantibus*, which can really be classed with \mathfrak{P}^{46} , but is a kind of a cat on a fence).

xiii 11 Omit γαρ \mathfrak{P}^{46} with no Greeks known, and apparently supported only by *f*, but not by other Latins—(any Vulgates?),—nor by other Versions. But γαρ is not necessary as between verses 10 and 11/12. Compare above iv 4, vii 11, x 26, xii 10. This makes the fifth absence of copula. To these add eight more cases of — γαρ elsewhere: Rom. xii 4, 1 Cor. iv 15, ix 16, xiv 14, Gal. iii 28, v 6, vi 3, Col. iii 24, making at least *thirteen* such omissions. without counting omissions of δε, και, ον, μεν in other places. It would be a rash person who would accuse \mathfrak{P}^{46} of omitting all these copulas from sheer carelessness, even when alone. It has become clear that far more 'polishing' took place after the original was launched than has been supposed hitherto, and \mathfrak{P}^{46} is absolved from many laches attributed to it.

ibid. \mathfrak{P}^{46} has περι αμαρτιας. In *C** αλ. placed after αγια, while *A* and

Soden may add two more cursive witnesses for κρειττονα. What misled the editor is probably that our A.V. says 'better things', corrected to 'better' by R.V. κρ(ε)ιττονα of \mathfrak{P}^{46} may be original, but, if so, it was early amended.

xii 25 \mathfrak{P}^{46} decides for πολλω μαλλον (with D^c KLMP *al. pl. Chr Euthal Cyr Thdt Dam*) against the πολυ μαλλον of \mathfrak{NACD}^* 17 and *literatim* the Sahidic. The Syriac here (alone, as translated) has: 'quanto minus nos' (for the 'quanto magis nos' of all the Latins) writing: 'Quanto minus nos, si subterfugerimus eum qui loquutus est nobiscum de caelo.' But at Hebr. x 25 the same Syriac is rendered 'quanto magis'. The words italicized above in xii 25 do not seem to appear elsewhere (except A.V. 'that speaketh', in italics, R.V. 'that warneth', in italics); and Horner, in his notes, does not take up the matter of the Syriac in this final clause. It all turns upon the little 'not', which is absent from the Greek, the first οὐκ being made to serve twice over. Thus you will find in the R.V. that the third 'not' is in italics.

ibid. Instead of ημεις οι τον απ ουρανων αποστρεφομενοι, \mathfrak{P}^{46} writes: ημεις (—οι) τον απ ουρανων αποστρεφομενον. This must be an error.

xii 27 —την altogether in \mathfrak{P}^{46} , with D^*M *Sod*⁷⁸ *arm.* In the other Greeks it appears either before των σαλευομενων or after it. It seems impossible to determine whether it belongs to the record, or was absent from the original draft.

xii 28 εχομεν \mathfrak{P}^{46} with \mathfrak{NKP} 17 31 37 73 *al.*²⁵ *d f vg aeth Ath Cyr Antioch Cosm* (*Chr* *codd fluct*), *Sod txt*, against:

εχωμεν of \mathfrak{P}^{48} *ex emend.* and of \mathfrak{ACD}^{87} LM *syr copt arm vg*^{demid} *aeth*^{int} *Hort txt.*

ibid. λατρευωμεν \mathfrak{P}^{46} . Cf. *boh*: 'let us be having grace, THIS THROUGH WHICH WE WILL serve God . . .'

λατρευωμεν \mathfrak{ACDL} 17 *al. syr aeth Chr Cyr Thdt Cosm Dam*^{com}, *d f vg*: *serviamus, et Sod txt Hort txt, A.V., R.V.*

λατρευομεν \mathfrak{NKMP} *al. pl. arm Ath Chr Euthal Dam*^{txt} *Thphyl Oec.*

Here again (cf. xii 17) the *Bohairic* alone, confronted with \mathfrak{P}^{46} , outstrips its competitors, whether we read λατρευσομεν or λατρευσωμεν.

[Note. Von Soden does not record λατρευσωμεν. He gives his list for λατρευωμεν. In some cases I cannot add his MSS., especially when he says: 'So and so gegen so and so except so and so'; for the process of disentanglement, besides being painfully exacting, might make confusion worse confounded. And he makes no allowance for hiatus (as in Ψ from viii 11 to ix 19)].

ibid. \mathfrak{P}^{46} says the reading is δεους (with most), and it must be correct,

although the word is absent from the rest of the N.T. The alternative is *αἰδους* (read by KL and some, with *Thdt* (*Cosm* + *καὶ δεησεως*) *Dam.* *αἰδοῦς* (from *αἰδώς*) occurs elsewhere only at 1 Tim. ii 9.

δεησεις is used at Hebr. v 7 by all MSS. including *P⁴⁶*, and occurs once in Romans, twice in 2 Corinthians, four times in Philippians, once in Ephesians, three times in the epistles to Timothy; and *δεος* seems foreign to St. Paul's vocabulary—one of the arguments against his authorship of Hebrews, and the reason why some do not like *δεους* here and substitute *αἰδους*.

It seems very unlikely that the problem of authorship will ever be solved, unless we come across some piece of writing of Apollos, and can compare his vocabulary with that running through the Epistle to the Hebrews in respect to the 154 words which remain unique and outside the diction of other writers of the N.T. St Paul is found to use 63 words in common with the author (or authors) of Hebrews; Luke 16, Acts 24 (= 40 if we add them), while we count 5 for Matthew, 5 for Mark, 6 for John, one for Jude, 3 for James, 6 for Peter, and 3 for the Apoc. Jointly, Luke-Acts-Hebrews 10 times, Paul-Acts-Hebrews 13 times, Luke-Paul-Hebrews 8 times, and *Paul-Peter-Hebrews* 16 times. The last combination is interesting (plus the other 6 instances of Peter-Hebrews) when we recollect the badly translated *ἱστορήσαι* of Galatians i 18, of Paul's objective in visiting Jerusalem: 'to confer with' Peter, for *ἱστορήσαι* means much more than 'to see'. Wetstein gives a good quotation from Plutarch, with *ἰδεῖν* preceding *ἱστορήσαι*: 'to see Cicero and learn by close conference with him how to . . .' Notice that Peter (1 Pet. iii 21) and the writer of Hebrews (ix 24) are the only ones to use the word *ἀντίτυπον*.

xiii 5 *ἀρκουμενος* (*pro* *ἀρκουμενοι*) *P⁴⁶* with M only of Greeks and no Latins. This seems to be the Syriac, Aethiopic, and Armenian way of expressing it. Thus *ἀρκουμενος* might easily be original. *ἀρκέω* is rare elsewhere in the N.T. Once in Matthew, once in Luke, twice in John, once 2 Cor. xii 9, and once in Timothy, although it is fully expressive of N.T. ideals (*e.g.* τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἔχειν *Xenophon*: 'to have the strict necessities').

On turning to the photographic edition of *P⁴⁶*, I see that the scribe wrote *ἀρκοῦμενοι* or the first stroke of *ν* for *ἀρκοῦμενον*, but a sigma (original shape, but heavy) is imposed over this iota. It is instructive, as showing careful consideration, and should be taken into account where other rare readings have *not* been amended.

xiii 6 *λεγει pro* *λεγειν* *P⁴⁶*, but changed to *λεγειν* by the first hand, apparently. *θαρρουντας* remains undisturbed, but *ημας* is omitted (with *MΨ So⁷⁸* only). *Syr* has: 'And it is to us to say confidently'; *f vg*

arm have: 'ita ut confidenter dicamus'. *Aeth* has: 'et nunc confidenter dicamus'.

[1]st changes the order to: *λεγειν ημας*, but *d* has: 'ita audiente (audentes *vel* audenter?) dicite'].

'Confidenter' might assume a *θαρρουντως* for *θαρρουντας ημας*, but I do not find a Greek witness for this, unless *D*st had it originally. The reason for all this hesitation is the question of the first person singular or plural, which might govern the introduction to the quotation which follows:—

'The Lord is *my* helper, *I* will not fear what man shall do unto *me*' (or: 'what shall man do unto me?').

No Greeks are recorded for *θαρρουντως* (or *θαρσουντως*) *λεγει*.

ibid. *P*¹⁶ has *και ου φοβηθησομαι* with the LXX in Psa. 117. 6, whereas *N***C***P** 17 108* *Sod*⁷⁸ *d f vg syr sah aeth* 1/2 *boh*^{pl} omit *και*. This because, with the absence of *και*, the next clause can become a question, although in *sah* (which omits *και*, *more sah*) it does not appear to be a question. [In *boh* it can be read either way, and perhaps in *sah* also. In *aeth* and in our R.V. it is definitely a question]. *P*¹⁶ has *τι ποιησει μοι ανθρωπος*, and only 47* seems to have *ποιηση* (*latt*: *faciat*).

xiii 7 — *υμων P*¹⁶ (*post των ηγουμενων*), apparently alone. Clearly we can do without it, but it is a queer appearance of 'the shorter text', suddenly to the fore once more, though *D*st* may be without it.

ibid. *ως pro ων P*¹⁶ alone. This is quite clear, following a space after *θεου*.† Again the footnote claims *ως* to be a simple error. But turn to the *Sahidic* and you read in Horner's translation (although the 'as' is not clearly present): 'these, as ye look at the exaltation of their manner of life'; then a good stop or pause before: 'Imitate their faith'.‡ However, in *P*¹⁶ there is no space between *της αναστροφης* and *μμεισθε*. But in *aeth* we get the *ως* definitely:

'And behold *how ye see* the last moment of life, the going out of the world.'

So there must be a reason for the *ως* present in *P*¹⁶, although the Latins and the Syriac show no trace of it.

xiii 8 — *και prim. P*^{16*}, but added at once above the line by the true first hand. *Boh* expresses it 'with to-day', *neaa* for *και*, but *sah* here has the actual *και* (*ογω*). Only m of Scrivener (37) supports *P*¹⁶,

† The printed edition lacks *Υ* after *Θ*. The space is thus indicated (so clearly shewn in the photo), but *Υ* has been dropped in printing by mistake.

‡ *Aeth* expresses this to perfection: . . . *Imitamini me in fide Jesu Christi, qui heri et hodie est usque in aeternum*.

and this is not to be found in Tischendorf, but *is* recorded by Soden (δ 505).

ibid. — ο *ante* αυτος. No other Greeks besides \mathfrak{P}^{46} apparently (see *aeth* in the note below on previous page). *Sah* expresses 'He' by $\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$, but *boh* primes the αυτος by doubling it: $\pi\theta\omicron\varsigma \pi\theta\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\mu \psi\alpha\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma$, i.e. 'He is He and ($\pi\epsilon\mu$, with) for ever', meaning "with an everlasting 'He-ness', or 'Sameness'."

xiii 9 διδαχαις ποικιλαις ξεναις (— και) \mathfrak{P}^{46} with *boh*^{DFK} [*non sah*] and *aeth*^{ambobus} (1/2 : other strange doctrine ; 1/2 : strange doctrine other). No Greeks, no Latins, nor Syriac.

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xiii 11 Omit γαρ \mathfrak{P}^{46} with no Greeks known, and apparently supported only by *f*, but not by other Latins—(any Vulgates?),—nor by other Versions. But γαρ is not necessary as between verses 10 and 11/12. Compare above iv 4, vii 11, x 26, xii 10. This makes the fifth absence of copula. To these add eight more cases of — γαρ elsewhere : Rom. xii 4, 1 Cor. iv 15, ix 16, xiv 14, Gal. iii 28, v 6. vi 3, Col. iii 24, making at least *thirteen* such omissions. without counting omissions of δε, και, ουν, μεν in other places. It would be a rash person who would accuse \mathfrak{P}^{46} of omitting all these copulas from sheer carelessness, even when alone. It has become clear that far more 'polishing' took place after the original was launched than has been supposed hitherto, and \mathfrak{P}^{46} is absolved from many laches attributed to it.

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Scrivener's Paul 265 (Adv. Crit. p. lxxxiv) omit. (Soden does not seem to notice this MS, now Michigan 16).

ibid. *καιεται* (*pro κατακαιεται*) \mathfrak{P}^{16} with Ψ and k^{Scr} (old 260). Soden gives us Ψ , but omits to record k^{Scr} [= his δ 459, a MS at Cambridge (Tr. Coll. B. x 16) and is Hort's 27 in Paul]. \mathfrak{P}^{16} , however, has added *κατα* above the line.

The Latins have *cremantur* (but D^{Gr} *καταναλίσκονται*). Syriac would have a simple and not a compound verb in the original background, but it is of no importance, except to bring in Ψ (not *Sod*⁷⁸ apparently here). [Ψ is wanting from viii 11 to ix 19].

xiii 12 *παρεμβολης pro πυλης* \mathfrak{P}^{16} with P *aeth* and *boh*¹ marg. (There is another variant of *πολεως* by 80 *boh*^{E1mg} *syr Thdt* 1/3 and *Tert*).†

Impossible to determine whether *πυλης* of the majority be right or not. *παρεμβολης* can be repeated from verse 11, but *πυλης* may have been an attempted literary improvement.

xiii 17 The footnote says: '*αποδωσοντας*] *sic per errorem pro -τες, αποδωσονται* D^{Gr} '. But in the photo it looks as if the final sigma (ς) was meant to be modified to ι , which would give us the reading of D^{Gr} , and this is also actually the reading of *aeth* and the rendering of our English Versions.

xiii 18 — *εν ante πασι* \mathfrak{P}^{16} *solus*^{vid}. But compare *aeth*: '*confidimus quod diligitis, et exoptatis bonum omnibus*', transferring *πασιν* to the end (without *εν*).

xiii 21 — *εν ante παντι τω αγαθω* \mathfrak{P}^{16*} apparently alone, and without *εργω* or *λογω*.

We can do without this *εν* following *καταρτισαι*, for it means: 'adjust you to every good thing' (action *or* desire). *καταρτίζω* or *καταρτάω* or *καταρτύω* do not need an *εις* or an *εν*. *ἵππος χαλινῷ καταρτυθείς*, given in the Lexicon, means a horse: 'broken by training', or simply: 'broken in'.

It is interesting to notice that *καταρτίζειν* also implies 'to restore' or 'to refit' (as of a ship). See Hebr. x 5: *σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι*. Notice the dative following. Also Gal. vi 1: 'if a man be overtaken in a fault . . . *restore* (*καταρτίετε*) such an one.' Also Matt. iv 21, Mark i. 19: 'preparing (*i.e.* looking over, mending, and renewing) their nets'. There are over a dozen places in the N.T. where *καταρτίζω* is used. I know of none where it is followed by *εις* or *εν*, except 1 Cor. i 10: *κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ*, and Rom. ix 22: *κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν*.

ibid. The codex reads: *το θελημα αυτου + αυτο (or αυτω) ante ποιων*.

† Horner has made a slip here, quoting P for *πολεως*.

Ν*AC* *Greg*^{Nyss}? have this + *αυτω*. *Soden* adds δ 48 and α 162. Note the: 'ipso faciente in vobis quo placeat coram se' of *d*, against the: 'faciens in vobis' of the rest. 71 (*Sod* α 1066) has *αυτος*. Now Horner teaches us that the *Sahidic* says exactly this: 'for you to do his will, for him (ⲙⲁϣ), while he doeth that which is pleasing him in us before him through Jesus the Christ', and so also practically *boh*, while all the rest omit.

xiii 22 *απεστειλα* *p*⁴⁶ with D^{gr} (*hiat d*) 44 49 67 122* (= *Matthaei* m) ab*^{Scr} *al.*? (*pro* *επεστειλα* *rell.*).

Aeth has exceptionally 'I commanded', thus: 'Obsecro vos, fratres nostri, sufferte sermonem doctrinae vestrae quia breviter *praecepi* (*επετειλα*?) vobis.' This is a misreading from *επιτέλλω*, or is meant to translate *ἐπέστειλα* (from *ἐπιστέλλω*). We translate *ἐπέστειλα*: 'I have written', but it can also mean *praecepi* and a lot of things.

xiii 23 *p*⁴⁶ has *απολελυμν*, and the footnote says that *λελυμν* has been added after *απο* at end of line, by the first hand. It looks so. We shall never know what the first hand should have copied for *απολελυμενον* of all the rest, but *sah* has: 'whom I sent'.

xiii 24 — *παντας* *prim.* *p*⁴⁶. *Tisch* indicates no MSS for omission, but *Soden* says his α 200 (Naples) also omits, and α 173 (Rome Vat. 1650, written in Calabria A.D. 1037) substitutes *φιλους ημων* for *παντας*. No others, and no Versions apparently, but *Matthaei*'s 1 (old Paul 121) omits *τους ηγεμονους υμων και παντας*, reading simply: *παντας τους αγιους* (not recorded by *Sod.*).

ibid. Now *p*^{46*} omits, on the other hand, *και παντας τους αγιους*, and seems to be alone in so doing. Probably the double occurrence of *παντας* is responsible in both these cases.

The closing salutation in *p*^{46*} is thus quite brief:—*ασπασασθε τους ηγουμενους υμων ασπαζονται υμας οι απο της ιταλιας η χαρις μετα παντων υμων*.

The second hand has added *και παντας τους αγιους* between the lines, but has *not* added *παντας* between *ασπασασθε* and *τους ηγουμενους υμων*.

It will be seen from these two hundred selected examples that the Epistle and its subject had not yet assumed full development, nor possessed the extreme significance gradually worked into its texture.

Am I not right, therefore, in attributing a very early date and handling to the immediate ancestor of this Papyrus?

Now, to what tends all this criticism, or, rather, this attempted explanation of moot points? I hope, not only to a clarification of certain detail, but to a validation of *p*⁴⁶ as a fair witness.

Further, I believe that it confirms my previous estimate as regards the Pauline epistles proper in \mathfrak{P}^{46} , *viz.* that we have grossly over-estimated our existing Greek material, if we think that it gives us a correct picture of the original graphs, and I submit that the Chester-Beatty documents are invaluable as intimating (and in part conveying) a purer base, before the texts of all these N.T. letters had been submitted to much rehandling.

A rapid retrospect of the more important places treated of above will establish the value of collateral research, without which we remain parvipotent.

It is highly unscientific to lead \mathfrak{P}^{46} up to our 'received text'—whether of Stephen or of Hort—and to ask it what it is going to do about the matter, when this 'received Greek text', or consensus of later Greek documents, denies a reading of \mathfrak{P}^{46} , or adds something which \mathfrak{P}^{46} saw fit to omit. It is equally unscientific and unhelpful to dismiss apparent errors without a thorough search for the basic text. Even where there appear in \mathfrak{P}^{46} indubitable errors of grammar, or apparently impossible syntax, there may be underlying reasons involving really good or original, if rough, readings, which are only obscured, and these 'errors' sometimes point the way to the recovery of alternative readings, merely hidden by misunderstandings, double-readings, or notes in the parent exemplar. And, the rougher the Greek reading, the more reason for finding out why such roughnesses survive.

Of course there are a certain number of real errors. In what MS do we not find them?

But we must eliminate all doubtful matters and try to clear them up. Otherwise we lose our time, mislead the public, and retard, instead of advancing, knowledge.

Take one example alone. That which is to be found at Hebrews viii 5, where \mathfrak{P}^{46} is the first Greek witness to exhibit the proper Greek text and writes $\mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta$ instead of $\mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta\varsigma$. Existing text-books must be amended, for, in this and in other polyglot matters, the Versions have been given scant hearing. Yet all the Versions gave us the correct Greek equivalent, but they have been put aside; and in von Soden's N.T. have been ignored here and the Vulgate misrepresented.

For control of this dative, refer to Luke ii 26, as to Simeon :

καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.

Also consult Exod. xxv 1 (at the beginning of all the various commands, 'ποιήσεις': which follow) where we find :

Καὶ ἐλάλησε κύριος (יהוה) πρὸς Μωυσήν (Hebr. מֹשֶׁה),

and Exod. xxxiii 11: *Καὶ ἐλάλησε κύριος (יהוה) πρὸς Μωυσήν, ἐνώπιος ἐνωπίῳ (בְּפָנָיו לְפָנָיו), ὥς εἶτις λαλήσαι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον . . .*

and Jer. xxxiii 2 (= Hebrew xxvi 2):

στῆθι ἐν ἀλγῇ οἴκου κυρίου, καὶ χρηματιεῖς ἅπασι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις . . .
τοὺς λόγους οὓς συνέταξά σοι χρηματίσαι αὐτοῖς.

and Jer. xxxvii 2 (= Hebrew xxx 2):

οὕτως εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, λέγων· γράψον πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς
ἐχηματίσα πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ βιβλίου.

I commend this to any who still think there may be some short cuts to be had in textual criticism. Let this disabuse them. Indeed, there is no road at all, from where we stand, but a tangled brush. No coach and four may gallop up to it; no high-powered modern car may purr up alongside it, but the Shrine, which houses the remains of our title-deeds—the *Δαβίρ*, the Oracle—is plainly visible. Some fifty years ago an idea was promulgated that we could obtain the desired quick results by television, but this proved erroneous and we obtained nothing but blurred plates. We must therefore pursue our way on foot, step by step; and be ready to pick the locks of impeding gates, surmount or turn the obstacles still barring the path, learn the ins-and-outs of many an old-fashioned turn-stile, kissing-stile, by-pass gate, and one-way barrier, before we can approach the threshold through the maze of an overgrown and interwoven foreground.

To change the simile. While we are doing all this slow, subterranean work, in order to penetrate the old shafts and workings of the mine, we are perhaps neglecting to prepare the World-heart for a renewal of the ΠΝΟΗ ΒΙΑΙΑ, the *VENTUS INGENS*, the MIGHTY BREATH of the Spirit of fire, which (Acts ii 2) appeared at Pentecost and was to promote concord and cement GOODWILL amongst all Races and Nations;—only to be quenched by interminable early discussions from every quarter (within and without the nascent Church), as to minute points of doctrine and as to side-issues, apart from the kernel of the whole movement, the aim of which in the life of Ben-Adam, the Son of Man, was to purge and regenerate men's hearts and scatter the chaff of discord. This is why Peter was very lukewarm as to the wisdom of allowing Mark to propagate a written gospel in Rome, foreseeing, perhaps, that 'the letter killeth'. He preferred to depend on the oral transmission of a really inspired Gospel-message. Perchance he was right.† Look where we have drifted, until our impotence cries aloud to Heaven for renewed inspiration!

Peter must have been very emphatic in his discourses about the supreme value of *examples* in the Christian life, as being superior to

† See Sangster's small volume: *Why Jesus never wrote a book* (Epworth Press, 1932), especially pp. 16-18.

any amount of talking or writing ; for certain items have been left on the record which we may examine with profit. Consult 1 Peter ii 21, v 3 and 2 Peter ii 6, where three different words are used. They are: ὑπογραμμόν, τύποι, and ὑπόδειγμα. Our A.V. and R.V. do not distinguish, translating everywhere 'examples' or 'ensamples'. But in the first passage Peter records that Christ:

'left us *a track*, that we might follow in his footsteps'.

In the second place Peter remarks:

'neither as lording it over your charges, but developing as *patterns* for (or 'of') the flock'.

In the third instance the subject is of the fate of Sodom and Gomorrha, God having made of them:

'a *display* (or *signpost*) to the ungodly who would follow'.

Now all this was evidently set down with careful choice of words. In fact James (v 10) also uses the word ὑπόδειγμα and it is employed three times in Hebrews (Jude uses δειγμα, Paul ἐνδειγμα), while its first use is at John xiii 5 as to Jesus' washing of feet. He says: 'An example (ὑπόδειγμα) have I given you, that as I have done to you, so you may do.'

Paul at Athens also was well advised when he said, of the Unknown God, that: 'He, Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life and breath—(πνοήν, same word as at Acts ii 2 and the only recurrence of it)—and all things, and hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth . . .'

We are met with a textual problem of the most difficult nature in this very connexion, at Luke ii 14, and it has defied solution since the first century. It is one of our earliest and most obstinate of variants. Its solution depends upon the presence or absence of a single letter. This text of Luke 'went apart' very early as to whether we should read:

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to men,
or: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of goodwill.

The Greek is either: ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία

or: (ἐν) ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. There is no other difference.

In these days of 'men's hearts failing them' amidst the changing scenes of our dissolving Age, it may be profitable to enquire exactly what εὐδοκία stood for in the Septuagint, a somewhat untravelled route in this connexion, but it must be at the base of the N.T. terminology.

It occurs ten times: once in 1st Chronicles, once in the Song of Songs and eight times in the Psalms. It generally represents רצון (rahtzon) and implies voluntariness; compare 2 Cor. v 8.

We find it at Malachi ii 13, there, however, *græcè* 'δεκτόν', and *anglicè* 'goodwill'. The verse runs:

'And this ye have done again, covering (ἐκαλύπτετε) the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping and with crying out, insomuch that He regardeth not the offering any more nor receiveth it *with goodwill* at your hand.'

The passages in the Septuagint referred to covering εὐδοκία are at 1 Chr. xvi 10, Cant. vi 3 (vi 4 *anglicè*, *hebraicè*), Ps. v 13 (v 12 *anglicè*), xviii 15 (xix 14 *angl.*, *hebr.*), l 20/21 (li 18), lxviii 14 (lxix 13), lxxxviii 18 (lxxxix 17), cv 4 (cvi 4), cxl 5 (cxli 5), cxliv 16 (cxlv 16).

The first passage rather favours one reading in Luke (man's goodwill to God); the last passage favours the other (God's goodwill to man): ἀνοίγεις συ τὰς χεῖράς σου, καὶ ἐμπιπλᾷς πᾶν ζῶον εὐδοκίας, although the actual wording covers εὐδοκίας and not εὐδοκία; but, seemingly, it can be read both ways.

In Ps. v 12 in the A.V. we read: 'with favour wilt Thou compass him as with a shield'. The Sept. says (ver. 13): 'as with a shield of goodwill (εὐδοκίας) Thou shalt crown (or encircle) him. Here then again we have εὐδοκίας, but, clearly, it is the Lord who provides it; not man.

In Ps. xix 14 (xviii 15 Sept.) it is the other way round: 'Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in Thy sight . . .'

In the next, li 18 (l 20/21 Sept.), the goodwill is God's.

In the next, lxix 13 (lxviii 14 Sept.), the 'acceptable time' is God's acceptable time.

In the next, lxxxix 17 (lxxxviii 18 Sept.): 'and in Thy favour our horn shall be exalted', it is again the theme of God's goodwill; not man's.

In the next, cvi 4 (cv 4 Sept.), the English version makes it God's, supplying, after 'the favour', the words 'that Thou bearest unto' before 'Thy people. O visit me with Thy salvation.' In the Septuagint it is merely: ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ σου, which might apply the εὐδοκία to Israel.

In Ps. cxli 5 (cxl 5 Sept.) there is nothing to be said, for A.V. makes it 'in their calamities' against the 'ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶν' of the Septuagint. The Hebrew is ברעותיהם, perhaps confusion with רעות of the Chaldee. See Ezra v 17, vii 18.†

† In the Septuagint there seems to be sometimes confusion between εὐδοκία and ἐκδικία. The latter can mean both 'vengeance' and 'remission of rent'.

Therefore, in the Sept., it is more a question of *εὐδοκία* representing God's goodwill, than that of man.

Verb-forms of *εὐδοκέω* occur about forty times in the Old Testament, but they are of varied application: man to man, man to God, and God to man, and are indeterminate.

In the Psalms, however (eleven passages out of the forty), one place applies between man and man, two places to man to God, but eight of God to man.

On the whole, therefore, I think we may say that the Eastern reading of *εὐδοκία* in Luke is preferable to the Western reading of *εὐδοκίας*, which still prevails in the Roman Church-manuals and holds the field.

And, since 'men of goodwill'—whether we call them Beni-Adam or Beni-Alohim—are scarce, or somewhat inarticulate, we are thrown back on the celestial message as being intended to proclaim Peace and Goodwill to all men; and not merely Peace among men of goodwill, or 'among men in whom He is well pleased', as our Revised Version has it. [See '*the Aquarian Gospel*' ch. 55⁹: Goodwill to men].

I recount all this merely to show how far we are still from any certainty in our textual investigations; and as to whether the Written Word—which so many millions think is inspired *literatim* in our printed documents—is a safe guide; or whether Peter was right in rather reluctantly allowing Mark to report his addresses. Recall what Paul said (2 Cor. ii 17–iii 3):

'We are not like many who higgie (*καπηλεύοντες*) about the word of God . . . Ye are our epistle, engraved in our hearts, known and recognized by all men, clearly bearing witness (*φανερούμενοι*) that ye are an epistle of Christ, not inscribed with ink, but animated (*πνεύματι*) by the living God . . .' See also 1 Cor. ix 1, 2.

Upon p. 30 above, at Hebr. vii 15 and xii 26, we have briefly referred to two minute points. They should be elaborated further. Already, in my article in the *J.T.S.* for April 1937, p. 154, I had taken up a somewhat similar point at 1 Cor. xvi 12 as to *εάν* and *οταν* in this same Papyrus. But the matter is more important than I had thought and turns upon a Hebraistic base, for it now seems certain that *εάν* was original and has been displaced by *οταν* there. The passages at Hebr. vii 15 and xii 26 offer further proof of an original Hebrew draft; or, if not, of a strong Hebrew 'modus' behind the Greek.

This is seen when we refer back to iii 11, 15 and iv 7 *etc.* '*εἰ ἐλεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου*', '*ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε*', or consult the Septuagint at such places as Zech. iii 7, vi 15, viii 23, where *εάν* is employed.

There are three words in Hebrew which are rendered both *if* and

when; they are אֲשֶׁר, כִּי, אֲמַר. These can be observed and contrasted at Gen. iv 7/xxxviii 9, at Gen. iv 24/iv 12, at Gen. xliii 14/vi 4, respectively; and the matter is well worth notice in detail in the Concordances; so that, in the Greek, εἰ or εἰάν are still made to serve sometimes for ὅτι, ὅτε, ὅταν, and ὁπότε, ὁπόταν.† Again, Hebrew is not much concerned with a variety of copulas. A lone little hook-figure generally stands for καί or δέ or γάρ or οὐν and μετά. Hence my point, briefly discussed above, of the absence of γάρ no less than five times in Hebrews and a dozen times in the whole Papyrus, merits more than a passing glance as to the Hebraic 'fond'.

Hebrew is also content, as is the Coptic, with strong, curt, trenchant statements, without any connecting καί at all. The student must dig deep to find what trend or current there may be Latin-wards, or Syriac-wards, or Coptic-wards which may have occupied the minds of the author, or of the scribe, or of the forerunners of the scribe, or, lastly, of those of the correcting or emending hands; and he must be saturated with Coptic and Egyptian methods [for Coptic syntax runs right back to the hieroglyphic texts of Egypt] to be able to judge in how far scribes and others had or had not the Egyptian background. See a few remarks on this head under x 38 above.

It will be realized that the bobbin has to pass backwards and forwards many times, to weave (or reweave) the original pattern.

If my diallage has tended to catalysis, rather than to mere analysis, that, surely, must spell progress; for it is only by a process of breaking-down and elimination that we can expect to reach semi-finality.

אֲנֵה, then, in Hebr. ix 3, is a composition of אֲנֵה and אֲנֵה, and thus fulfils the primary conditions of possibility. Next, when we find that previously in Bible history alternative appellations existed, covering the

† Thus, Henderson, in his charming work on the Minor Prophets (Ed. 1858, p. 397), translates Zech. vi 15 fin.: 'And it shall come to pass if ye will diligently obey the voice of Jehovah your God * * *', and in a note refers to this apparently 'unfinished sentence' as a striking case of aposeiopesis. The LXX renders in the same way with εἰάν. But if we translate אֲנֵה 'when', the unfinished character of the sentence disappears, thus: 'And it shall be, when diligently hearing ye shall give heed to the voice of Jehovah your God.' (In English we say frequently 'if and when' rather than 'if or when', thus covering the point involved here). Shortly afterwards (viii 20/23) we are reminded of this, when we read that remarkable passage in the Prophet, where he says (ver. 23): 'In those days ten men out of all the Nations shall take hold, shall even take hold of the skirt of a Jew, saying: We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.' But the children of Israel and the children of Judah themselves were too often as lost sheep (Jer. 16), for the Prophet says: '... they shall go and seek the Lord their God. They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward (הִנֵּה), saying Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten' (Jer. 14-5).

whole precinct of the Holy of Holies, viz. *Δαβίρ* and *Ἀριήλ*, *Ἀγίασμα* and *Ἀγνεία*, we are authorized to consider *ΑΝΑ* as a probability. Lastly, when we are able to shew a sound basis for such a synonym (as we claim to have done),—whether cabbalistic (p. 24), or simply an abbreviation or a metonym—we can no longer admit the first easy-going attribution of *ΑΝΑ*, to a scribal misreading of *ΑΓΙΑ*.

Ana is a well-known prefix and suffix to certain proper names, equating in meaning 'cloud of smoke as sent up by diviners' ('*καὶ ἡ ἀτμὶς τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινε*' Ezek. viii 11), 'my augury', and so forth; but we need not dwell unduly on these. It may be only a coincidence that Hanniel occurs at Num. xxxiv 23 and 1 Chr. vii 39 [nowhere else], and that he was '*the son of Ephod*'! I find no occurrence of ANAEL or ANIEL, but there *could* be some cabbalistic play on ANA(EL) as the 'Son of Ephod'. This *Ἰῆν* occurs only once as a proper name. Compare the lists of names in Nehemiah iii, vii, xii, xiii.

There remain five words, which are not found in the Old or New Testament, viz. *ἀναθυμία* 'rising vapour', *ἀναθυμίαμα* 'fume of incense', *ἀνάκλησις* 'invocation', *ἀνάκτισις* 'new creation', *ἀνάκανσις* 'a kindling', but they have a bearing on the subject. And observe a noteworthy concatenation of *ιερατεύειν* and *ἀναβαίνειν* at 1 Sam. ii 28:

ιερατεύειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ θυσιαστήριόν μου καὶ θυμῶν θυμίαμα καὶ αἶρειν Ἐφούδ.

As to *κάλυμμα*, *καλύπτω*, and *ἀνακαλύπτω*, the book of Malachi (referred to eight times in the N.T.), has a passage which may well explain *ΑΝΑ* at Hebr. ix 3, because at Mal. ii 13 we read in the Septuagint version:

'*Καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ ἐμίσουν, ἐποιεῖτε· ἐκαλύπτετε δάκρυσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου, καὶ κλαυθμῶ καὶ στεναγμῶ ἐκ κόπων, ἐτι ἄξιον ἐπιβλέψαι εἰς θυσίαν ἢ λαβεῖν δεκτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν.*' (I have already cited the English version).

Here the 'blinding' or 'hiding' (the 'covering' A.V.) of the altar, behind a veil of tears, wailing, and groaning, was to give way, in the new dispensation, to the *uncovering* (2 Cor. iii 18), although St Paul says (2 Cor. iii 14-16) that the veil still remained to the Jews and that their discernment was *blinded* or *blunted* (*lit.* that their *νοήματα* were 'turned into stone'). For, says he: *ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἐὰν ἀναγνώσκῃται Μωυσῆς, κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κείται· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, περιαιρέται τὸ κάλυμμα· ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ (που FG, σπου *Macar*) δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου (ἐκεῖ) ἐλευθερία. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες*

(om. p^{16} *m vg^A Tert Aug Anct^{prom} Sedul*) ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν (+ τοῦ p^{16} *boh*) Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου πνεύματος. [κατοπτριζόμεθα οἱ *et* μεταμορφούμενοι p^{16} (*Macar*)].

Hence the *ANA* as an appellation of the *new* Sanctuary in Hebrews; for, not only do we have the two precedents of Δαβὶρ and Ἀριήλ, but, as the ancients saw fit to give to the holiest sanctuary a special name each time that a new situation arose, so might it seem fitting for the new order in Hebrews to be celebrated by a fresh appellation.

Indeed, Malachi seems to be a key; for, besides the ἀναγνώσει, ἀναγνώσκῃται, and ἀνακαλυπτόμενον, ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ above, it embraces the *ana* in ἀνατολή with the *θυμίαμα* of a *θυσία καθαρά* of the ἀνακάλυψις. See Mal. i 11:

‘. . . διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν πάντι τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά. Διότι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ.’

He goes further in iii 10 and says:

‘. . . and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you (ἀνοίξω ὑμῖν) the windows (τοὺς καταρῥάκτας) of Heaven and pour you out a blessing (τὴν εὐλογίαν), that there shall not be room enough to receive it (ἕως τοῦ ἰκανωθῆναι).’

Then, after using ἀναμέσον thrice in iii 18 (as to discernment between righteous and wicked, godly and ungodly), he comes back to the theme of ἀνατέλλω in connexion with the ‘Sun of righteousness’ and the ‘healing in his wings’ at iv 2, reminding one of the connexion between Altar and Cherubim in the Holy of Holies, and saying:

ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΥΜΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΟΒΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ

ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ

ΚΑΙ ΙΑCIC ΕΝ ΤΑΙC ΠΤΕΡΥΞΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ,

with which quotation from the last of the Old Testament writers we bring the matter to a close.

In the various books of Maccabees we read of the almost incessant pogroms against the Jews during the ensuing four hundred years, before the New Testament era is ushered in.

One thing, omitted, remains now to be pointed out. That is the use of the word ἀναγγέλω in the N.T., again involving ἀνα, somewhat obscured in the A.V. in translation by the word ‘shew’—instead of ‘announce’, or ‘declare’ (R.V.)—three times over at John xvi 13, 14, 15, as to ‘the Spirit of the Truth’, who:

ΤΑ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΑ ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΕΙ ΥΜΙΝ . . .

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΜΟΥ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΕΙ ΥΜΙΝ.

Not the written Word, then, but the Paraclete (xvi 7), otherwise the Spirit of the Truth (xvi 13), was to be the continuous guide and referee; as well as reminder of the things said and announcer of the things left unsaid during the earthly career of the Teacher, the Kathēgētēs,—Ben-Adam of the Gospels, the Bar-Alohin of Dan. iii 25.

KISS THE SON

LEST HE BE ANGRY

AND YE LOSE THE WAY. (Ps. ii 12.)

This is the postlude to a noble anthem. The A.V. renders: 'and ye perish from the way'; but there is no preposition in the Hebrew, so it is better to translate אָבַד as above, 'lose'. For authority, compare the mere *temporary* loss of Saul's asses: 'Saul's asses were lost' 1 Sam. ix 3 and 20; 'like a lost sheep' Ps. cxix 176 (again Jer. 16), 'a time to get and a time to lose' Eccl. iii 6. Altogether this word is translated 'lose' or 'lost' no less than thirteen times.

Kings and Emperors, Monarchs and Tyrants, Eparchs and Satraps, Tribunes and Consuls, Doges and Dukes, Rajahs and hereditary potentates, Popes and Patriarchs may come and go; Kingdoms, Republics, Democracies will rise and fall; Regents, Viceroys, Military governors, Vigilance Committees will displace corrupt Senates and Parliaments for a time to bridge difficult periods; Admirals and Air-marshals may hold sway for a while; Dictators will alternate with Republics and Democracies, and with Social experiments or with cruel Communistic propaganda. Amazon liberators, like Deborah and Delilah, may seek to intervene, or, like Jael and Judith, risk their lives to secure national or racial advantages; Messiahs and Avatars may, occasionally, seek to lead the People back to simplicity; Pastors and Prelates may try to guide and influence the flocks; but, without self-government there is bound to be merely *an alternation* of different forms of government from above. Successful government must come from below and permeate the community through individual self-control. Stated tersely, personal interests must yield to parochial interests; local or parochial interests must bow before larger national interests; national interests must be subordinated to world-wide interests. This is the ideal. In practice, we find international interest has to yield to various selfish national interests; while national interests oppress and exploit local interests; and these local or corporate parochial interests in their turn make short shrift of individual aspirations. [See my book *In tune with the Universe*, ch. xxv on 'Inverted Values'].

The *Regulae* of the early Christians were formulated to produce and secure the only durable form of such government of self which will bring peace, contentment, and goodwill upon the earth. We may be intellectual millionaires, but we are spiritual vagrants.

Therefore we return to our proem on the first page of this Essay, place in the discard all subtleties of interpretation in between, and say this: As long as man is seeking for worldly advantages and the luxurious life, encouraged by the Governments above him † and goaded from below by his own ambitions, he cannot secure peace; he can only profit at the expense of his neighbour—all the socialistic and communistic talk to-the-contrary-notwithstanding; whereas, St. James's '*Royal law*' stands for the very antithesis of self-seeking, and sums up the *Regulae* in this one splendid expression, while it spells the only *true* liberty, concerning which St James says (ii 12):

ΟΥΤΩ ΛΑΛΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩ ΠΟΙΕΙΤΕ ΩΣ ΔΙΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΡΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ,

the 'Law of Liberty' being a very different thing from false ideas of liberty and licence current in the world to-day; for he had described it previously in chapter i 19-27, summing up in verse 25 concerning 'the perfect law of liberty'. The Greek is: 'ὁ δὲ παρακύψας εἰς νόμον τέλειον,—τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ παραμείνας . . .' Here the Revised Version gives us an improvement, for it is not simply 'the perfect law of liberty', as the A.V. had it, but: 'a perfect law, to wit that of liberty' (or freedom), for observe the τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας above. Not 'liberty' then, as commonly understood, but *freedom* and *emancipation*, as preached by all true Emancipators; freedom from selfish ambitions and from concentration upon self, to a glorious emancipation, where man stands naked, but is 'clothed upon' with innocence from on high by the perfect law of liberty, because he has seen his true reflexion in St. James's mirror (i 23) and has recognized at last what this earthly warfare amounts to and his duty in the premises, with its immediate reward of soul-peace, happiness, and contentment.

No true Teacher has ever taught anything different.

NOTE.—I have not examined the *bashmuric* ‡ in the places where Tischendorf does not cite it. Maybe there are further hints to be picked up there. Nor have I dealt with ὁ and ὅς in the notes.

† Which must oppress in order to indulge him.

‡ This rich fragment of Hebrews in the middle-Egyptian dialect reposes at Rome (Propagand. olim Borg. Basm. 3) and comprises v 4-9, v 13, vi 3, vi 8-11, 15, 19, 20, vii 1, 5, 8, (9), 13, 16, (23-27), (viii 3-5), ix 10, 11, 17, x 1, 2, (6-8), (13-15), 22.

Note that the Epistle is not extant in the Gothic.

ΜΑΝΤΙΣ Δ' ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΙΣ ΕΙΚΑΖΕΙ ΚΑΛΩΣ.

(Euripides.)

ENVOI

Of nearness to her sundered things
 The Soul has special times,
 When Dimness seems the oddity,
 Distinctness easy seems.

.

The love a life can show below
 Is but a filament, I know,
 Of that diviner thing,
 That faints upon the face of noon
 And smites the tinder in the sun
 And hinders Gabriel's wing.

.

'Tis this invites, appals, endows,
 Flits, glimmers, proves, dissolves,
 Returns, suggests, convicts, enchants—
 Then flings in Paradise !

EMILY DICKINSON,
 (*Poems*, Little, Brown & Co., 1930.)

Jesus saith : Let not him who seeks . . . cease until
 he find ; and when he finds he shall marvel ;
 marvelling he shall reach the Kingdom (βασιλεύσει),
 and having become one of the King's party (καὶ
 βασιλεύσας), he shall attain to rest.

(*New Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrynchus*, Grenfell and
 Hunt, 1904 ; compare also Clem^{Strom} ii 2, v 14).

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